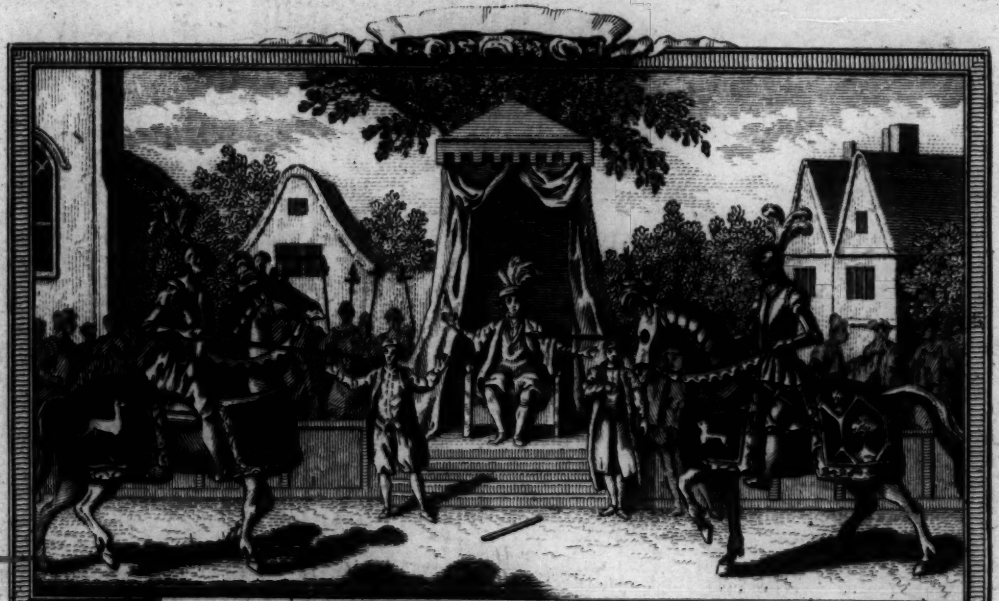
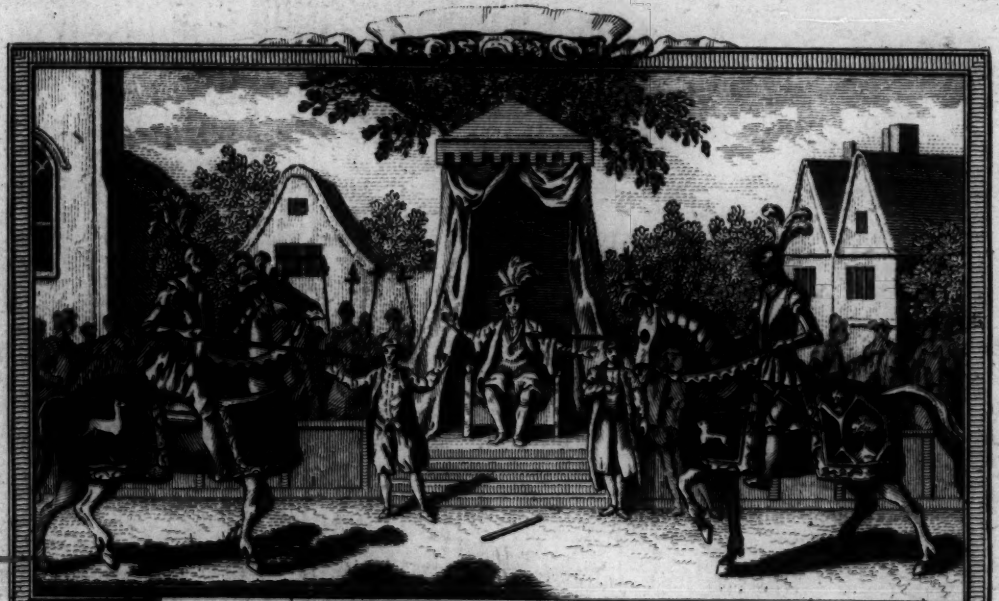


The Dukes of Norfolk, and Hereford, engaging in single Combat, before K. Richard II. at Coventry, 1398.

Published as the Act directs 1 May 1774 by J. Johnson, St. Pauls Church Yard.



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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE

INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR,

TO THE

DISSOLUTION of the Preſent PARLIAMENT.

ADORNED WITH PLATES.

IN FOURTEEN VOLUMES.

BY JOSEPH COLLYER,
Author of the NEW SYSTEM OF GEOGRAPHY,
in Two Volumes Folio.

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MDCCLXXIV.

HENRY IV.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

HENRY IV.

Surnamed of BOLINGBROKE.

CHAP. II.

The King's Coronation. A Conſpiracy defeated. Henry endeavours to ſuppreſs the Lollards. An Inſurrection in Wales. The Earl of Northumberland rebels. The Battle of Shrewſbury. The Archbiſhop of York and the Earl of Nottingham take Arms; but are circumvented by the Earl of Weſtmoreland. The Earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolf defeated and

ſlain. State of Scotland. Parliamentary Tranſactions. The diſſolute Life of the Prince of Wales. The King's Death and Character.

HENRY, immediately after his being proclaimed, aſſumed the reins of government, and in the mean time the friends of Edmund Mortimer, earl of Marche, who was only ſeven years of age, conſidering that it would be equally dangerous and fruitleſs to maintain his juſt right to the crown, took him to his eſtate at Wigmore, near the borders of Wales, from whence he was afterwards removed by Henry to Windſor caſtle, where he and his younger brother were detained in an honourable cuſtody, he having reaſon to apprehend, that when that nobleman arrived at man's eſtate, he would attract the reſpect of the people, and make them reflect on the fraud and injuſtice which had been uſed to exclude him from the throne.

Henry was crowned with the uſual formalities on the 13th of October, 1399, at thirty-three years of age. He was anointed with a kind of oil, pretended to be brought by the bleſſed Virgin to Thomas Becket, while he was in France. This precious oil was contained in a phial, which fell into the hands of a hermit, who preſented it to Henry, duke of Lancaſter, the grandſon of Henry III. at the ſame time prophecying, that the kings who ſhould be anointed with it, would become true champions for the church. The duke of Lancaſter

caſter afterwards gave it to Edward the Black Prince, who reſolved to be anointed with it; but after his death, the phial, which had on the top an eagle of gold ſet with diamonds, was laid up among the jewels without being minded, till it fell into Henry's hands; but the reigns of this prince, and ſeveral of his ſucceſſors who were anointed with this oil, contradict the hermit's prophecy.

Henry's firſt parliament gave him an opportunity of ſeeing the dangers that attended the high ſtation he had aſſumed. The nobles broke out into ſuch violent animoſities, that forty of the peers threw their gauntlets on the floor, and mutually challenged each other, while the words liar and traitor reſounded from every quarter; but the king had ſuch influence as to prevent all theſe combats, though he was unable to reconcile them to each other.

The next year the violent paſſions of theſe noblemen broke out into action; and the earls of Rutland, Kent, and Huntingdon, with lord Spencer, who had been degraded from their reſpective titles of duke of Albemarle, Surrey, Exeter, and Glouceſter, which had been conferred on them by Richard, with the earl of Saliſbury and lord Lumley, entered into a conſpiracy for ſeizing the perſon of the king at Windſor: but Rutland informing Henry of his danger, he ſuddenly returned to London, on which the conſpirators, who arrived at Windſor with five hundred horſe, had the mortification to find their plot defeated. The next day Henry, at the head of twenty

thouſand men, appeared at Kingſton upon Thames, on which theſe nobles, being unable to reſiſt him, diſperſed into their ſeveral counties, in order to raiſe their followers; but the king's adherents oppoſing their progreſs, the earls of Saliſbury and Kent were taken at Cirenceſter by the citizens; and according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, were, without farther ceremony, beheaded the next day. Spencer and Lumley were treated by the citizens of Briſtol in the ſame manner. By orders from Henry, the earl of Huntingdon, Sir Thomas Blount, with ſeveral others of the conſpirators who were alſo taken priſoners, ſuffered death. On the quarters of theſe unhappy men being brought to London, it is ſaid, that eighteen biſhops and thirty-two mitred abbots joining the populace, went with the moſt indecent marks of exultation to meet them. On this occaſion, the earl of Rutland carried on a pole the head of his brother-in-law, the lord Spencer; and, as a mark of his loyalty, preſented it to Henry; a ſpectacle extremely ſhocking to all who were not deſtitute of every ſentiment of honour and humanity. This infamous baron, who, by the death of his father, became ſoon after duke of York and firſt prince of the blood, had been concerned in the murder of his own uncle, the duke of Glouceſter, had then deſerted Richard, who had entruſted him; had conſpired againſt the life of the preſent king, to whom he had ſworn allegiance; had betrayed thoſe whom he had ſeduced into this enter-

enterprize, and now publickly diſplayed this diſgraceful proof of his baſeneſs.

While Henry was a ſubject, he was thought to have ſtrongly imbibed the principles of the Lollards; but now being poſſeſſed of the throne by ſo precarious a title, he reſolved, in order to pay his court to the clergy, to uſe his endeavours to ſuppreſs them. There had been hitherto no penal laws enacted againſt hereſy, but the king now engaged the parliament to enact, that when any heretic, who relapſed or refuſed to abjure his opinions, was delivered over by the biſhop or his commiſſaries to the ſecular arm, the civil magiſtrate ſhould publickly commit him to the flames. This weapon being put into the hands of the clergy, did not long remain unemployed: William Sawtre, rector of St. Oſithes, in London, being condemned by the convocation of Canterbury, his ſentence was ratified by the houſe of peers: Henry iſſued his writ for his execution, and he was puniſhed for his ſuppoſed erroneous opinions, by being committed to the flames. This was the firſt man who ſuffered death in England for the ſake of religion.

Henry was, however, involved in numerous inquietudes: the confuſions in England were a ſtrong temptation to the French, to endeavour to diſtreſs their ancient enemy; but the confuſions that prevailed in France, obliged them to accommodate matters; and Charles having recovered his daughter out of Henry's hands, laid aſide his preparations, and renewed the truce between England and France.

France. The Gaſcons, who had an affection for the memory of Richard, on account of his being a native of their country, refuſed to ſwear allegiance to a prince by whom he had been dethroned and murdered; and had a French army appeared on their frontiers, they would probably have changed their maſters: but the arrival of the earl of Worceſter with a body of Engliſh forces, gave countenance to Henry's party, and over-awed his enemies. Here their union with England was alſo cemented by religion. By Richard's authority, the Gaſcons had been engaged to acknowledge Urban VI. the pope of Rome; and were ſenſible, that if they ſubmitted to France, they ſhould be obliged to pay obedience to Clement VII. who reſided at Avignon, and whom they deteſted as a ſchiſmatic.

Owen Glendour, who was deſcended from the ancient princes of Wales, becoming obnoxious to the preſent government, on account of his attachment to Richard, Reginald, lord Gray of Ruthyn, who enjoyed a great fortune in the marches of Wales, and was cloſely connected with Henry, thought this a favourable opportunity for obtaining the poſſeſſion of his eſtate. Glendour, provoked at this injuſtice and indignity, recovered poſſeſſion by the ſword. Hence the king ſent aſſiſtance to Gray, and the Welch joined Glendour, by which means a war was kindled, which Glendour, aſſiſted by the natural ſtrength of the country, and the high ſpirit of its inhabitants, long ſuſtained by his activity and valour. As he ravaged

vaged the eſtates of all the Engliſh promiſcuouſly, he laid waſte that of the earl of Marche, on which Sir Edmund Mortimer, that nobleman's uncle, advanced with the vaſſals of that family, and gave battle to Glendour, but was defeated and taken priſoner. At the ſame time the earl of Marche, who had been ſuffered to leave Windſor, and to reſide at his caſtle at Wigmore, though a mere boy, had the courage to take the field with his followers, but fell into the hands of the Welch chieftain, who carried him into Wales. As the king dreaded the family of Marche, he allowed the young earl to remain in captivity; and notwithſtanding his being nearly allied to the Piercy's, to whoſe aſſiſtance he himſelf owed the crown, he refuſed to permit the earl of Northumberland to treat with Glendour for his ranſom.

The Scots, tempted by the changes in the government, had made ſome incurſions into England: Henry was deſirous of taking his revenge; but being afraid, that by raiſing great ſupplies he ſhould render his government unpopular, he ſummoned the houſe of lords without the commons, and laying before them the ſtate of his affairs, they voluntarily undertook to attend him in an expedition into Scotland, each at the head of a certain number of vaſſals. This army Henry conducted to Edinburgh, which he eaſily took; and ſummoned Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, to do him homage for his crown. The Scots would, however, neither conſent to this, nor give

give him battle. He therefore returned to England, and diſbanded his army.

The next year Archibald, earl of Douglas, attended by many of the principal nobility of Scotland, and an army of 12,000 men, ravaged the northern counties of England: but on his return home, was attacked by the Piercy's at Homeldon, where the Scots were entirely routed, and Douglas himſelf, with Mordac, earl of Fife, the Scotch king's nephew, the earls of Angus, Murray, Orkney, and many others of the nobility and gentry, were taken priſoners. Henry no ſooner received intelligence of this victory, than he ſent orders to the earl of Northumberland not to ranſom his priſoners, a privilege which that nobleman, by the laws of war, conſidered as his right. The king indeed deſigned to detain them, that by their means he might be enabled to conclude an advantageous peace with the king of Scotland: but by this ſtep he encreaſed the diſſatisfaction of the Piercy's.

The obligations which Northumberland had conferred on Henry, by advancing him to the throne, made him not eaſily ſatisfied with the returns he had received for ſo great a favour. Though the king, on his obtaining the crown, had inveſted Northumberland with the office of conſtable for life, and conferred other favours on that family, they conſidered them as their due, and thought the refuſal of any other requeſt the greateſt injury. The fiery ſpirit of Henry Piercy, the earl of Northumberland's ſon, and the factious diſpoſition of the earl of Wor-

Worceſter, the earl's younger brother, enflamed that nobleman's diſcontent, and made him reſolve to take advantage of the weakneſs of Henry's title, in order to ſubvert the throne which he himſelf had eſtabliſhed. For this purpoſe he concluded an alliance with Glendour; ſet the earl of Douglas at liberty, and made all his partizans take arms, obliging the ſame men, whom a few years before he had led againſt Richard, to follow his ſtandard againſt Henry. But at the critical moment, when the war was ready to break out, Northumberland was ſuddenly taken ill at Berwick, on which young Piercy, taking upon himſelf the command of the troops, advanced towards Shrewſbury, with the intention to join his forces with thoſe under the command of Glendour. At this time the king had the happineſs to have a ſmall army on foot, with which he had deſigned to march into Scotland; but being ſenſible of the great importance of celerity in civil wars, he inſtantly proceeded with great expedition againſt the rebels; and approached Piercy near Shrewſbury, before Glendour could join him.

Both parties reſolved to come to an engagement; and on the evening before the battle, Piercy ſent Henry a manifeſto, in which he renounced his allegiance; ſet him at defiance, and enumerated all the grievances, of which he maintained the nation had reaſon to complain. He upbraided that prince with the perjury of which he had been guilty, when he ſwore at his landing at Ravenſpur, before the earl

earl of Northumberland, that his ſole intention was to recover the dutchy of Lancaſter, and that he would ever continue king Richard's faithful ſubject; charged him with dethroning, and then murdering that prince; and in uſurping the rights of the houſe of Mortimer, to whom the throne, of right, belonged; complained of the cruelty of permitting the young earl of Marche, whom he ought to conſider as his ſovereign, to continue a captive, and of refuſing his friends the permiſſion to treat for his ranſom; and reproached him with thoſe arts he had uſed to obtain favourable elections to parliament, which he had before imputed to Richard, and made one chief reaſon of his being dethroned. A manifeſto thus calculated to inflame the minds of both parties, gave reaſon to expect a very bloody engagement; while the bravery of the two leaders, and the equality of the two armies, each of which amounted to about 12,000 men, rendered the iſſue of the combat extremely doubtful.

The battle was indeed fought with great fury. Henry bravely expoſed his perſon in the thickeſt of the fight; and his gallant ſon, afterwards Henry V. who here firſt appeared in arms, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his heroic courage; and though he was wounded in the face with an arrow, would not quit the field. The battle began with both ſides diſcharging a ſhower of arrows. Then a choice body, commanded by Piercy, and the Scots under Douglas, charged the front of the king's line with

with ſuch intrepidity, as to bear down all oppoſition, till they had penetrated to the royal ſtandard, which was beaten down. Piercy now ſupported the fame he had acquired in many a bloody engagement; and Douglas, his ancient enemy, and now his friend, rivalled him amidſt the horror and confuſion of the day. He ſeemed reſolved, that the king of England ſhould fall by his hand, and ſought him all over the field of battle. But the impetuoſity of Piercy and Douglas occaſioned their overthrow; for they ruſhed forward with ſuch precipitation, that their ſoldiers could not follow them, and the lines they had broken cloſing again, intercepted their retreat. They fought cloſe to each other, performing incredible feats of valour; and as Henry, either to encourage his own men by the belief of his being every where preſent, or to elude being attacked in perſon, had cauſed ſeveral captains to be dreſſed in the royal garb, Douglas ſlew three different perſons, who appeared to be the king of England: but all their followers being ſlain, they found themſelves hemmed in on all ſides, without any proſpect of being relieved by the reſt of their forces. When the king obſerving their confuſion, advanced at the head of a body of reſerve, and falling in among them, made a dreadful havock, while Piercy and Douglas ſtrove to cut their way back to their own forces, till Piercy, being ſlain by an arrow, his death was no ſooner known, than his whole army fled in confuſion, after the battle had laſted three hours. King

Henry had expoſed his perſon like the meaneſt ſoldier, and is ſaid to have ſlain thirty-ſix men with his ſingle arm. In this battle, which happened on the 21ſt of July, 1403, about ſix thouſand were ſlain, two-thirds of whom were of Piercy's army. The earls of Worceſter and Douglas were taken priſoners, and the former beheaded at Shrewſbury, but the latter was treated with great courteſy.

The earl of Northumberland, on recovering from his ſickneſs, had raiſed a body of forces, and was on his march to join his ſon; but hearing of his defeat and death at Shrewſbury, he diſmiſſed his troops, and came with a ſmall retinue to the king at York, after having previouſly received an aſſurance of pardon. He pretended, that he had no other intention in taking arms, but to mediate between the parties; and this apology Henry not only accepted, but granted him a pardon: the ſame lenity was extended to all the other rebels; and, except the earl of Worceſter and Sir Richard Vernon, who were conſidered as the principal authors of this inſurrection, none engaged in it, appear to have periſhed by the hands of the executioner.

Northumberland was ſenſible that, notwithſtanding his being pardoned, he ſhould never be truſted, and that his great power rendered it difficult for him to be ſincerely forgiven by Henry, who had ſuch reaſonable grounds of jealouſy. Indeed, the folly of that prince's enemies in never acting in concert, prevented his ruin. They had the madneſs to riſe in rebellion

bellion one after another, and thus afforded that prince, who acted with the greateſt vigilance, an opportunity of ſucceſſively ſuppreſſing thoſe inſurrections, which, had they been united, would probably have proved fatal to him. The earl of Nottingham, the ſon of the duke of Norfolk, and the archbiſhop of York, brother to the earl of Wiltſhire, whom Henry, when duke of Lancaſter, had cauſed to be beheaded at Briſtol, notwithſtanding their having remained quiet while Piercy was in the field, ſtill entertained a violent hatred againſt the king, and in 1405, joining with the earl of Northumberland, reſolved to be revenged. They took arms before that nobleman was ready to aſſiſt them, and publiſhing a manifeſto, in which they bitterly reproached Henry with his uſurpation, and the late king's murder, demanded, that he ſhould reſtore the right line, and redreſs all public grievances. Soon after the earl of Weſtmoreland advanced to meet them with an inferior force; and being afraid of hazarding a battle, attempted to obtain the advantage by an artifice, which nothing could have rendered ſucceſsful, but their being guilty of the moſt extreme weakneſs and folly. He deſired to enter into a conference with the archbiſhop and the earl of Nottingham, between the two armies; and this being granted, he, with great patience, heard their grievances, and begged them to propoſe the remedies. He then approved of every expedient they mentioned, granted every demand, and engaged that Henry ſhould give them entire ſa-

tisfaction. On finding them pleaſed with his ready compliance with all their demands, he obſerved, that ſince their amity was, in fact, reſtored, it would be better for both ſides to diſband their forces, which would otherwiſe prove burthenſome to the country. Upon this the arbhbiſhop and the earl not having the leaſt ſuſpicion, inſtantly diſmiſſed their troops, which ſeparated in the field; on which Weſtmoreland ſeizing the two rebels, without reſiſtance, took them to the king, who, with haſty marches, was advancing to ſuppreſs the inſurrection. As the trial and execution of an archbiſhop might be attended with danger, had Henry proceeded according to law, nothing could render his putting him to death ſafe and prudent, but the expedition with which it was performed. Therefore, on Sir William Gaſcoigne, the chief juſtice, making ſome ſcruple of acting in this affair, he appointed Sir William Fulthorpe to be his judge, who, without either an indictment, trial, or defence, pronounced the ſentence of death, and that prelate was inſtantly executed. This was the firſt inſtance of a biſhop ſuffering a capital puniſhment in England. The earl of Nottingham alſo received his ſentence, and was executed in the ſame ſummary manner: but though lord Falconberg and many other perſons of rank were engaged in this rebellion, it appears, that Henry made no other victims of his reſentment.

An account of this ill ſucceſs being brought to the earl of Northumberland, he fled with lord

lord Bardolf into Scotland, on which Henry reduced thoſe noblemens caſtles without oppoſition. He then turned his arms againſt Glendour, over whom ſome advantages had been obtained by his ſon the prince of Wales: but the enemy found means to defend himſelf in his faſtneſſes, and to elude all the force of England.

In 1406 the city of London being afflicted with a dreadful plague, which ſwept off great numbers of the inhabitants, the king, to avoid the contagion, reſided for ſome time in the caſtle of Ledes in Kent; where having paſſed part of the ſummer, he reſolved to viſit another country-ſeat in Norfolk; and for that purpoſe went on board a ſmall veſſel attended by four ſhips, loaded with his baggage and domeſtics; but in this ſhort voyage he was attacked by ſome French cruizers who took the ſhips, with all his ſervants and equipage; and he himſelf, with the utmoſt difficulty, eſcaped.

In 1407 the earl of Northumberland and lord Bardolf entered the north of England, in hopes of engaging the people to take arms; but the country was in ſuch a poſture of defence, as defeated all their attempts. At length Sir Thomas Rokeſby, ſheriff of Yorkſhire, raiſing ſome forces, attacked them at Bramham, and obtained a victory, in which both Northumberland and Bardolf were ſlain. This ſucceſs, added to the death of Glendour, which happened ſoon after, freed the king from his domeſtic enemies, and Henry, who, by ſuch unjuſtifiable means, had aſcended the

throne, by his valour and prudence, accuſtomed the people to his government, and obtained a greater aſcendant over the barons than a juſt title, unſupported by thoſe qualities, could ever have given him.

About the ſame time Henry obtained a ſignal advantage over the Scots, who were moſt able to diſturb his government. Robert III. was a prince extremely innocent and inoffenſive in his conduct, but of a mean capacity; and the duke of Albany, his brother, being of a fierce and cruel diſpoſition, had aſſumed the government, but being diſſatisfied with his preſent authority, formed the deſign of transferring the crown to his family, by the murder of his brother's children. He impriſoned David, his eldeſt nephew, who, during his confinement, was ſuffered to periſh by hunger: James alone, David's younger brother, now ſtood between his cruel uncle and the throne. Robert, ſenſible of the youth's danger, ſent him on board a ſhip, in order to his being carried to France, but the veſſel was unfortunately taken by the Engliſh; and James, who was about nine years of age, was carried to London; and though a truce then ſubſiſted between the two kingdoms, Henry refuſed to reſtore him to liberty. This ſhock Robert, who was worn out with cares and infirmities, was unable to bear, and he died ſoon after, leaving the government in the hands of his cruel brother. This rendered Henry more ſenſible than ever of the importance of having obtained ſuch a pledge, by which he was enabled

abled to keep the duke of Albany in dependence; ſince, if he offended him, he could eaſily take ample revenge on that uſurper, by reſtoring the true heir. He, however, made ſufficient amends for detaining James in his court, by giving him an excellent education, which afterwards, when he aſcended the throne, qualified him to reform, in ſome meaſure, the barbarous manners of his country.

During the greateſt part of this reign, the hoſtile diſpoſitions that prevailed between England and France, were reſtrained from appearing in action; for the jealouſies and civil commotions in which both nations were involved, prevented each of them from taking advantage of its neighbour's unhappy ſituation. But Henry had no ſooner the good fortune to compoſe the factions in England, than he began to look abroad, and to foment the animoſities which then ſubſiſted between the families of Burgundy and Orleans, and diſtracted the government of France: for he was ſenſible, that the principal ſource of the national diſcontent againſt Richard, was the inactivity of his reign; and by employing the reſtleſs ſpirits of his people, he hoped to prevent all domeſtic commotions. In order to unite policy with force, he, in 1411, entered into a treaty with the duke of Burgundy, to whom he ſent a ſmall body of forces, which ſupported him againſt his enemies: ſoon after, the duke of Orleans making him more advantageous propoſals, he diſpatched a greater body to ſupport his party; but theſe princes having accommodated

dated their differences, Henry's views here proved vain and fruitleſs, and he was prevented from renewing his attempts againſt France, by the declining ſtate of his health and the ſhortneſs of his reign. But this was left for his ſon.

Theſe were the military and foreign tranſactions of Henry's reign. During the greateſt part of it he was obliged to court popularity; and the houſe of commons becoming more ſenſible of their importance, aſſumed powers which their predeceſſors had not uſually exerciſed. In the firſt year of Henry's reign, they procured a law that no judge, on being guilty of any iniquitous meaſures, ſhould be excuſed, by pleading the king's orders, or even the danger of life from the ſovereign's menaces. In the ſecond year, they inſiſted on maintaining the practice of not granting the ſupplies before their petitions were anſwered. In the fifth year, they petitioned the king to diſmiſs four officers who had diſpleaſed them, one of whom was his own confeſſor; and though Henry informed them, that he was not ſenſible of their being guilty of any offence, yet to gratify them, he complied with their requeſt. In the ſixth year, though they voted the king ſupplies, they appointed treaſurers of their own to ſee the money diſburſed for the purpoſes intended; and enjoined them to deliver in their account to the houſe. In the eighth year, they propoſed thirty important articles for the regulation of the government and the houſhold, which were all agreed to; and they even conſtrained

ſtrained all the members of the council, the judges and officers of the houſhold, to ſwear to their obſervance. During this period, the ſpeaker and the houſe of commons took unuſual liberties; but in a ſubſequent parliament, when the king had overcome all his difficulties, the ſpeaker, on making his cuſtomary application to the throne for liberty of ſpeech, the king told him, that he would enjoy his prerogatives, and would have no novelties introduced. However, Henry was more attentive to maintain the rights and privileges of the people than moſt of his predeceſſors.

When the houſe of commons were at any time brought to make unwary conceſſions to the crown, they always ſpeedily retracted them. Though Henry entertained a well grounded jealouſy of the family of Mortimer, he never allowed their name to be once mentioned in parliament; and as none of the rebels had ever ventured to declare the earl of Marche king, he would not attempt to procure an expreſs declaration againſt that nobleman's claim, though he knew that this would not be refuſed him, he being ſenſible, that ſuch a declaration would only ſerve to revive the memory of Mortimer's title.

As the commons, during this reign, diſcovered a laudable zeal for liberty in their tranſactions with the crown, they exerted themſelves no leſs againſt the church: for in the ſixth year of Henry's reign, they, on being required to grant ſupplies, propoſed to the king in plain terms, that he ſhould ſeize the temporalities

lities of the church, and make uſe of them as a perpetual fund to ſupply the exigencies of the ſtate. They obſerved, that a third part of the lands of the kingdom was poſſeſſed by the clergy, who contributed nothing to the public burthens; and that their riches only tended to abate their zeal and attention in the performance of their miniſterial functions. The archbiſhop of Canterbury being with the king when this addreſs was preſented, objected, that though the clergy did not go in perſon to the wars, they, in caſes of neceſſity, ſent their vaſſals and tenants; while they themſelves, who ſtaid at home, were day and night employed in offering up their prayers for the happineſs and proſperity of the kingdom. The ſpeaker anſwered with a ſmile, that the prayers of the church were but a very ſlender ſupply. However, the archbiſhop prevailed: the king diſcouraged the application, and the lords rejected the bill.

Not diſcouraged by this repulſe, the commons returned to the charge in the eleventh year of this reign, with greater zeal than before; they prepared a calculation of the eccleſiaſtical revenues, which they maintained amounted to the annual ſum of 485,000 marks, and contained no leſs than 18,400 ploughs of land, which they propoſed to divide among fifteen new earls, fifteen hundred knights, ſix thouſand eſquires, and a hundred hoſpitals; beſides 20,000 l. a year to be applied to the king's own uſe; and inſiſted, that the ſacred functions would be much better performed than they

they then were by fifteen hundred pariſh prieſts, with an annual ſtipend of ſeven marks for each. They accompanied this application with an addreſs for mitigating the ſtatutes againſt the Lollards: but the king not only gave the commons a ſevere reply, but to gratify the church, before the diſſolution of the parliament, he ordered a Lollard to be burned.

Henry made uſe of the calm which ſucceeded his having the advantage of his enemies at home and abroad, by endeavouring to gain that popularity which proceeds from a regard for the welfare of the people; and from this diſpoſition probably aroſe his willingneſs to conſent to thoſe popular acts we have mentioned. In the mean time his ſon, the prince of Wales, ſeemed bent on incurring the averſion of the public, by giving a looſe to all kinds of debauchery, and keeping company with a number of profligate wretches, who made no ſcruple of committing the moſt illegal acts of violence. Nothing was talked of but the riotous pranks of the prince and his companions. His father was extremely concerned at this degeneracy in a ſon, who had already given repeated proofs of his valour, conduct, and generoſity; virtues which he now ſeemed to renounce; and the conſiderate part of the nation could not help dreading the conſequences of his aſcending the throne. Yet, in the midſt of theſe exceſſes, ſome ſparks of greatneſs of mind broke forth, which gave a ray of hope. One of his favourites being arraigned for felony, before Sir William Gaſcoigne, the chief juſtice,

juſtice, he reſolved to be preſent at the trial, with deſign to over-awe the judge; but his preſence not preventing the condemnation of the criminal, he was ſo tranſported with rage, that he ſtruck the judge on the face. The chief juſtice thus affronted, without regarding the offender's quality, ordered him to be ſeized and committed to priſon; on which the young prince, who had recovered his temper, being conſcious of the inſult he had offered to the laws of his country, ſuffered himſelf to be quietly conducted to jail by the officers of juſtice. The judge's courage, and the prince's moderation, gave equal pleaſure to the king, who, on being told of this affair, exclaimed, "Happy is the king who has a magiſtrate endowed with ſuch courage, as to execute the laws upon ſuch an offender; and ſtill more happy in having a ſon who will ſo peaceably ſubmit to ſuch chaſtiſement."

Henry, who was extremely jealous of any attempt againſt his crown, could not help giving ear to ſome inſinuations, that his ſon had ill deſigns againſt him. This belief filled his mind with anxiety; and he might perhaps have proceeded to ſome extremities to prevent the imagined danger, had not the prince, as ſoon as he was made acquainted with his father's jealouſy, taken timely care to remove his ſuſpicions. He repaired to court, dreſſed in ſuch a manner, as to expreſs his ſorrow; and demanding a private audience of the king, threw himſelf at his feet, and addreſſed him to this purpoſe. "I have been informed, my liege,

"liege, that you ſuſpect me of harbouring "deſigns prejudicial to your crown and per- "ſon. It is true, I have been guilty of ex- "ceſſes, for which I have juſtly merited your "diſpleaſure; but heaven is my witneſs, that "I never entertained a thought inconſiſtent "with that duty and reſpect I owe to your "majeſty. Thoſe who accuſe me of ſuch a "monſtrous crime, only ſeek to diſturb your "repoſe and mine. To clear myſelf from "this imputation, I have taken the liberty to "come and throw myſelf at your feet, hum- "bly entreating you to cauſe all my actions "to be examined with as much rigour as thoſe "of the meaneſt ſubject. This ſcrutiny I "demand, both for your majeſty's ſatisfaction, "and the vindication of my own character." The king, pleaſed with the frankneſs of this addreſs, embraced him, and declared, that his ſuſpicions were already removed.

Henry did not long ſurvive this interview. In 1413 he was ſeized with a diſtemper which, in three months, laid him in his grave. It was attended with frequent fits, which, for the time, deprived him of his ſenſes. He had formerly been told, that he ſhould die at Jeruſalem, and really believed, that God would make him an inſtrument to reſcue that city out of the hands of the infidels. This diſpoſed his mind to the ſolemn duties of his religion; and he took the croſs with a full reſolution to ſpend the remaining part of his life in a war againſt the infidels. He communicated his deſign to a great council aſſembled for that pur-

poſe, and began to prepare for the expedition, when his diſorder encreaſed to ſuch a degree, that he laid aſide his deſign, and employed all his thoughts in preparations for death. As his conſtitution decayed, his fears of loſing the crown filled him with a childiſh anxiety, and he would not go to ſleep unleſs it was laid on his pillow, leſt it ſhould be ſeized before he was dead. One day being fallen into ſo ſtrong a fit, that he was thought to have expired, the prince of Wales came in, took up the crown, and carried it away. Soon after the king recovering his ſenſes, and perceiving the crown was removed, aſked, with an anxious ſolicitude, who had preſumed to take it from his pillow; and finding that it had been carried away by the prince, ſent for him, and aſked him, whether he would rob him of his royalty before his death. "No, replied the prince, "I never had any ſuch thought; but think-"ing your majeſty was dead, I took the crown, "as my lawful inheritance; but now ſeeing "you alive, I with pleaſure reſtore it, and "heartily wiſh that you may long wear it in "peace." He then placed the crown upon the pillow, and having received his father's bleſſing, retired.

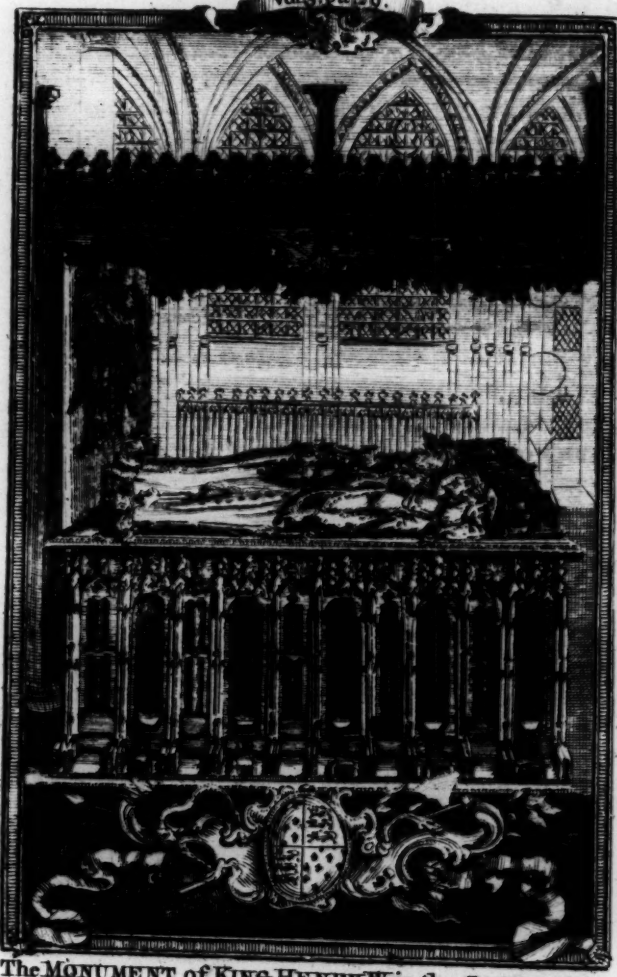
The king was ſeized with his laſt fit, while at his devotions, at St. Edward's ſhrine, in Weſtminſter abbey, and was carried to the abbot of Weſtminſter's lodgings, where, recovering his ſpeech, and perceiving himſelf in a ſtrange place, he deſired to know by what name it was called; and being told, that he was in the

the Jeruſalem Chamber, at the abbot of Weſtminſter's, it put him in mind of the prediction; and he concluded, that his laſt hour approached. Before he expired, he ſent for the prince of Wales, to whom he gave ſome excellent advice; but expreſſed great uneaſineſs, with reſpect to his own uſurpation, and told him, that he was afraid his brother, the duke of Clarence, would diſturb him in the poſſeſſion of the throne. The prince anſwered, that being lawful heir, he would endeavour to keep the crown by the ſame methods by which he had himſelf preſerved it: that if the duke of Clarence behaved as he ought, he would always find him a kind brother; but if he pretended to do otherwiſe, he knew how to make him return to his duty. The king ſaid nothing more, except recommending him to the protection of heaven, and expired a few minutes after, on the 20th of March, 1413, in the 46th year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign.

Henry was twice married; firſt to Mary de Bohun, the daughter and co-heireſs of the earl of Hereford, by whom he had four ſons: Henry, who ſucceeded him in the throne; Thomas, duke of Clarence; John, duke of Bedford; and Humphrey, duke of Glouceſter; and two daughters, Blanch and Philippa; the firſt married to the duke of Bavaria, and the laſt to the king of Denmark. His ſecond wife was Jane, the daughter of the king of Navarre, and the widow of the duke of Bri-

tanny, whom he married after he was king, but ſhe brought him no iſſue.

Henry, before he had attained the crown, enjoyed great popularity; but when the people were led to pity the unhappy fate of their late king, they were filled with reſentment; and ready to enter into rebellions againſt him; hence though the executions were much fewer than might have been expected, and were neceſſary for the ſupport of his authority, this made them appear cruel. He was led into the crimes which had raiſed him to the throne by a train of incidents, which ſeem to have ſeduced his virtue. The injuſtice with which he had been treated by his predeceſſor; his being baniſhed for no crime; that baniſhment being afterwards made perpetual, and his being ſtripped of his patrimony, induced him to think of revenge, and of recovering thoſe rights, of which he had been ſo unjuſtly deprived. The precipitate zeal of the people hurried him into the throne; and a regard for his own ſecurity, joined with his ambition, rendered him an uſurper; but nothing can excuſe the cruelty exerciſed on Richard, who had been made to hope, that by reſigning the crown, he ſhould enjoy all the bleſſings a private ſtation could procure. The inquietude with which Henry enjoyed the heighth of power, and the remorſe with which he is ſaid to have been continually filled, rendered him, even in his higheſt elavation, an object of compaſſion. On the other hand, it muſt



The MONUMENT of KING HENRY IV. in the CATHEDRAL of CANTERBURY.

muſt be confeſſed, that he had a remarkable command of temper; that he maintained his power by the moſt admirable prudence and vigilance; that the regard he ſhewed for the liberties of the people, and many other great qualities, fitted him for the high ſtation to which he was raiſed, and which rendered his uſurpation, during his reign, an advantage to the nation, though it afterwards produced the greateſt calamities.

CHAP. III.

HENRY V.

He aſcends the Throne, and immediately reforms his Conduct. The Perſecution and Death of Lord Cobham. The State of France. Henry invades that Kingdom, and gains the Battle of Agincourt. He again invades France. The Duke of Burgundy aſſaſſinated. The Treaty of Troye. The King's Marriage. He makes War on the Dauphin. His Death and Character. Miſcellaneous Incidents.

AS Henry had not the happineſs to be beloved, his death gave the people no great concern. His loſs was, however, lamented by the clergy, whom he had protected, and on whom he had beſtowed great favours. The prince of Wales, notwithſtanding the profligacy of his youth, had already diſcovered the dawn of great and good qualities; particularly by his ſubmiſſion to the judge, which was remembered and admired; and the people were, at this time, held in ſuſpence with reſpect to his government, by their hopes and fears. He was called Henry of Monmouth, from the place of his birth, and had been educated at Queen's college, Oxford, under the eye of his uncle, the biſhop of Wincheſter. Immediately

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HENRY V.

ately after the death of his father, he was proclaimed by the name of Henry the Fifth; and the parliament meeting on the 24th of March, offered to take the oaths of allegiance even before his coronation; but this he modeſtly declined, as being an inſtance of their confidence, which he did not deſerve. He was crowned by the archbiſhop of Canterbury on the 9th of April, 1413.

The firſt ſtep taken by the young king confirmed all the prepoſſeſſions which had been entertained in his favour. He ſent for his former companions, and letting them know his intended reformation, exhorted them to imitate his example; but ſtrictly forbad their appearing any more in his preſence, till they had given ſufficient proofs of their having changed their courſe of life; and then diſmiſſed them with preſents. Thoſe of his father's wiſe miniſters who had checked his follies, immediately found that they had, unknown to themſelves, been paying their court to him, and were received with every mark of favour. Even the chief juſtice, who trembled to approach him, received praiſes inſtead of reproaches, and was exhorted by the king to perſevere in executing the laws with the ſame rigour and impartiality. The ſurprize of all who expected an oppoſite conduct, encreaſed their ſatisfaction; and the character of the young and amiable king, appeared brighter than if it had never been ſhaded by his follies.

Henry was not only ſolicitous to repair his own miſconduct, but to atone for thoſe crimes into

into which his father had been betrayed by policy, or the neceſſity of his affairs. He expreſſed his concern for the unhappy fate of Richard; did juſtice to his memory; ordered his corpſe to be removed from Langley, where it had been interred, to Weſtminſter-abbey, and cauſed it to be depoſited by Anne of Luxemburgh, his late queen, with great pomp and ſolemnity, at which he himſelf aſſiſted in perſon, as chief mourner. He received the earl of Marche with ſingular courteſy, and by this inſtance of magnanimity, gained ſuch an aſcendant over the gentle and unambitious temper of that prince, that he ever after continued ſincerely attached to him, and gave him no diſturbance in his future government. He reſtored the family of Piercy to its honours and fortunes; and being deſirous to bury in oblivion all party diſtinctions, he made thoſe who had been advanced without merit, give place to men of real abilities.

There now remained only one party which Henry, with all his popularity, was unable to ſubdue. The Lollards were daily encreaſing; and to put a ſtop to their progreſs, a convocation of the clergy was held under Thomas Arundel, biſhop of Canterbury, who had obtained an order from the late king to ſend commiſſions to Oxford, to take informations in relation to their doctrines, and to the chief abettors of that ſuppoſed hereſy; when it was

* He married the niece and heireſs of the lord Cobham, and thence aſſumed that title.

found,

found, that Sir John Oldcaſtle, lord Cobham, was at the head of that ſect; a nobleman who, on many occaſions, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his bravery, and acquired the eſteem both of the late and the preſent king. His great character, and his zeal, made the archbiſhop conſider him as a proper victim of eccleſiaſtical ſeverity, ſince he imagined, that his death would ſtrike a terror into the whole party, and make them ſenſible, that after his death no others could expect the leaſt mercy. He waited upon the king with complaints againſt lord Cobham, and tried to perſuade him, that fire and faggot were the only means of extirpating hereſy, and that the intereſt of religion rendered it abſolutely neceſſary to proceed againſt that nobleman with the utmoſt rigour. Henry was, at firſt, averſe to ſuch ſanguinary methods of proceeding, and repreſented to the primate, that reaſon and conviction were the beſt methods to be uſed in the ſupport of truth; that he ought firſt to try all gentle methods to reclaim him from his errors, and that he himſelf would converſe with him, and endeavour to reconcile him to the Catholic faith. But the king found that nobleman too ſteadily fixed in his opinions, to ſacrifice truths, which appeared of infinite importance, to his complaiſance for his ſovereign. Henry was diſpleaſed at his inflexibility; and finding that his own power had no effect, cruelly committed him to the care of the clergy. He was indicted by the primate, who, with the aſſiſtance of the biſhops of London, Wincheſter, and

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St. Davids, now condemned him to the flames. But Cobham, whom they had confined in the Tower, had the happineſs to make his eſcape.

The eccleſiaſtics had obtained a proclamation againſt the Lollards aſſembling for religious worſhip, on which, not daring to meet in houſes, they choſe ſome unfrequented place, where they met in the night. Some of them reſolving to aſſemble in St. George's Fields, which was then over-grown with buſhes; it came to the ears of their enemies, who informed the king, that Cobham was there at the head of 20,000 men, with the deſign to kill his majeſty and his brothers, with all the lords ſpiritual and temporal that were not of their party. Henry, weakly giving credit to this idle tale, marched againſt them, and reſolved to attack them before they had taken their meaſures. He arrived upon the ſpot about midnight, and finding about eighty or a hundred perſons, put ſome of them to the ſword, and took the reſt priſoners. Among theſe were Sir Roger Acton, John Browne, Eſq; and Sir John Beverley, who were apprehended and ſuffered death as heretics and traitors, with thirty-ſix of their followers. Cobham himſelf, who was then in Wales, was not taken till four years after, when he was drawn, hanged, and burnt on the gibbet for hereſy and treaſon. This checked the progreſs of that ſect; for the age was not yet ſo far advanced in the exerciſe of reaſon, as to be ſeiz-

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ed with the ſpirit of controverſy; the generality of the people were alarmed at the very idea of hereſy; and many, who wiſhed for the reformation of abuſes, diſcovered their diſlike to the ſpeculative doctrines of the Lollards, which they imagined threw diſgrace on ſo good a cauſe: hence the parliament, immediately after the detection of a pretended conſpiracy, paſſed ſevere laws againſt them: they enacted, that whoever was convicted of that hereſy before the ordinary, ſhould not only ſuffer capital puniſhment, but forfeit his lands and goods to the king; and that the chancellor, treaſurer, juſtices of the two benches, ſheriffs, and all the chief magiſtrates in every city and borough, ſhould ſwear to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to extirpate hereſy. Yet when the king demanded a ſupply, this very parliament renewed the offer made to his father, and entreated him to ſeize all the eccleſiaſtical revenues. The clergy, who could offer nothing equivalent, were greatly alarmed: they conferred on him all the alien priories which depended on capital abbies in Normandy, to which they had been left when that province was united to England: and to divert the blow, Chicheley, who was now raiſed to the ſee of Canterbury, endeavoured to turn the king's attention from the clergy, by perſuading him to engage in a war with France, in order to obtain that kingdom to which that prelate pretended he had a juſt claim. Henry's natural diſpoſition inclined him to follow this advice; and the civil diſorders in France, which had laſted for a long time,

time, and ſtill continued, favoured his ambitious views.

During the minority of Charles VI. the jealouſies which had ſubſiſted between Charles and his three uncles, the dukes of Anjou, Berry, and Burgundy, had diſtracted the affairs of France; but in proportion as that prince advanced in years, the factions were compoſed, the dukes of Anjou and Burgundy, his two uncles, died; and the king having aſſumed the reins of government, the drooping hopes of his country were revived by his diſcovering ſymptoms of genius and ſpirit. While affairs were in this promiſing ſituation, that unhappy prince was ſuddenly ſeized with a phrenzy, by which he was rendered incapable of government; and though he recovered, was ſo ſubject to relapſes, that his judgment became gradually impaired, and he was unable to purſue any ſteady plan of government. The adminiſtration of affairs was now diſputed between Lewis, duke of Orleans, his brother, and John, duke of Burgundy, his couſin-german: the people were divided between theſe princes; and the king, by ſometimes reſuming, and then dropping his authority, prevented either party from finally prevailing.

The dukes of Orleans and Burgundy appearing at length to be influenced by the unhappy ſtate of the nation, agreed to bury all their paſt quarrels in oblivion: they ſwore to the ſincerity of this friendſhip before the altar: the prieſt adminiſtered the ſacrament to both; and every pledge held ſacred among mankind was

was given by each: but all this ſolemnity only ſerved to cover the baſeſt treachery: the duke of Burgundy cauſed his rival to be aſſaſſinated in a ſtreet of Paris: for ſome time he ſtrove to conceal his guilt; but being detected, he openly avowed, and endeavoured to juſtify what he had done. Even the parliament of Paris, the ſupreme tribunal of juſtice, on hearing the harangues of the duke's advocate in defence of aſſaſſination, which he juſtified under the name of tyrannicide, influenced by faction, and over-awed by power, did not condemn this deteſtable doctrine. The commiſſion of this crime deſtroying all truſt and ſecurity, cut off every means of accommodation. The princes of the blood joining with the young duke of Orleans and his brothers, engaged in a terrible war with the duke of Burgundy; and the unhappy king, on being ſometimes ſeized by one party, and ſometimes by another, alternately transferred the appearance of legal authority to each. The provinces were ravaged: the animoſity of the ſeveral leaders, every where produced aſſaſſinations; and executions were ordered without legal trial, by pretended courts of juſtice. All the French were divided into two parties, the Burgundians, and the Armagnacs, the latter of whom were the followers of the young duke of Orleans, and were ſo called from that prince's father-in-law, the count of Armagnac. Paris was a perpetual ſcene of blood and violence; the king and royal family were frequently detained captives by the populace;

and his faithful miniſters ſlaughtered before his face. During this dreadful ſcene of violence, the butchers of Paris declared for the duke of Burgundy, with the moſt furious zeal, committed every kind of outrage againſt thoſe of the oppoſite party. On the other hand, the Armagnacs being joined by the fraternity of carpenters, the populace ranged themſelves on one or the other ſide, and on the prevalence of either party, depended the fate of the capital.

The king of England at once perceived the advantage that might be made of theſe dreadful confuſions. The late king, who had been courted by both thoſe parties, fomented the quarrel between them, by ſending alternately aſſiſtance to each; but the preſent king reſolved to make war on that divided kingdom; but while he was preparing to invade France, he ſent ambaſſadors to Paris with the offers of a perpetual peace and alliance, on condition of his having Catharine, the daughter of the French king, in marriage, and his being payed two millions of crowns as her portion, one million ſix hundred thouſand as the arrears of king John's ranſom, with the immediate poſſeſſion and full ſovereignty of Normandy, and of all the other provinces which had been conquered from England by the arms of Philip Auguſtus, and the ſuperiority of Britanny and Flanders. The French court were willing to give him the princeſs in marriage, to pay him eight hundred thouſand crowns, with the entire ſovereignty of Guienne, and to annex to

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it the country of Perigord, Rovergue, Xaintonge, the Angoumois, and other territories. However the dauphin, who was a youth of a high ſpirit, diſliking theſe conceſſions, and having a mean opinion of Henry on account of his diſſolute character, contemptuouſly ſent him, in deriſion, a box of tennis-balls, intimating, that theſe would afford him a more proper amuſement than war. Henry, piqued at this ſatirical ſtroke, anſwered, that his balls ſhould be matched with racquets, with which he would play a game that ſhould ſhake the walls of the Louvre. The above conditions offered by the court of France were, however, rejected; and as the king could ſcarce hope that the French would comply with his demands, he had aſſiduouſly continued his preparations for war, and having aſſembled a great fleet and army at Southampton, invited all the nobility of the kingdom to attend him, and proceeded to the ſea-ſide, in order to embark for France.

While Henry's thoughts were employed on the conqueſt of France, he had the mortification to find himſelf in danger from a conſpiracy at home. Richard, earl of Cambridge, the ſecond ſon of the late duke of York, having married the ſiſter of the earl of Marche, had entered with great zeal into the intereſts of that family. For this lady being the daughter and heireſs of Lionel, duke of Clarence, the third ſon of Edward III. he became, in right of her, nearer to the crown than Henry, and had reaſon to hope, that on the death of

Mortimer, earl of Marche, who had no iſſue, he or his children might ſucceed to the throne. He therefore engaged in his intereſt the lord Scrope of Maſham, and Sir Thomas Grey of Heton. They propoſed to crown that young nobleman; and having exacted from him an oath of ſecrecy, communicated the plan they had formed in his favour; but his fears overcoming his ambition, he imparted the whole converſation to Henry. The conſpirators were inſtantly ſeized, and impriſoned in Southampton caſtle; and a jury of commoners was ſummoned; the three conſpirators were indicted before them: the conſtables of that caſtle ſwore, that each of them had confeſſed their guilt to him; and without any other evidence, Sir Thomas Grey was condemned and executed; but the earl of Cambridge and lord Scrope, pleading the privilege of their peerage, Henry ſummoned a court of eighteen barons, in which the duke of Clarence preſided: the evidence before the jury was read, and brought in evidence againſt them; but the priſoners, though one of them was a prince of the blood, were not heard in their own defence, nor ſo much as brought into court; but upon this proof received ſentence of death, and were ſoon after executed.

The king's departure was delayed by this affair till the 14th of Auguſt, when he ſailed from the port of Southampton, and landed at Havre de Grace, in Normandy, at the head of ſix thouſand men at arms, and twenty-four thouſand foot, moſt of whom were archers.

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He immediately marched to Harfleur, which was about nine miles diſtant, and began the ſiege of that place, which was bravely defended by Eſtouteville, aſſiſted by ſome of the beſt officers of France; and being ſtrongly fortified and provided with a numerous garriſon, made a brave defence. But Henry carried on his attacks with ſuch vigour, and made uſe of his artillery with ſuch ſucceſs, that a conſiderable breach was made; on which the governor was at laſt obliged to capitulate, and promiſed to ſurrender the place, if he received no ſuccours before the 18th of September. The time being expired, and no appearance of a French army to relieve the town, the garriſon ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war; and Henry having taken poſſeſſion of Harfleur, peopled it with an Engliſh colony, by cauſing proclamation to be made throughout England, that all who would ſettle there, ſhould have houſes ſecured to them and their heirs. While his army was employed in repairing the fortifications, he ſent a written challenge to the dauphin, offering to decide the diſpute in a ſingle combat; but no regard was paid to his defiance.

The fatigue the Engliſh had undergone at this ſiege, with the unuſual heat of the ſeaſon, had ſo weakened and diminiſhed them by the dyſentery, that before Henry left Harfleur, not above one-fourth part of thoſe whom he had brought from England, remained in perfect health. This, with the approach of winter, prevented Henry's engaging on any other enterprize, and obliged him to think of re-

turning to England; but as he had diſmiſſed his tranſports, he was under the neceſſity of marching by land to Calais, before he could reach a place of ſafety. By this time a French army of fourteen thouſand men at arms, and forty thouſand foot, had aſſembled in Normandy under d'Albret, conſtable of France, which were ſufficient to trample down the Engliſh in the open field, or before they could perform ſo long and difficult a march, to harraſs and reduce them to nothing. Henry, therefore, offered to procure a ſafe paſſage to Calais, by giving up Harfleur; but the French court rejecting his propoſal, he determined to make his way in ſpite of the enemy, by his valour and policy. That his army might not be diſcouraged by the appearance of flight, or expoſed to the hazards attending precipitate marches, he proceeded ſlowly and with deliberation, till he reached the river Somme, which he propoſed to paſs at the ford of Blanquetague, where Edward III. in a like ſituation, had before eſcaped from Philip de Valois, but found that the French had rendered the ford impaſſable, and that the oppoſite bank was guarded by a ſtrong body of forces. Vexed at this diſappointment, he was obliged to ſeek for a ſafe paſſage, by marching higher up the river; and this he executed in ſpight of a thouſand difficulties and dangers. All the bridges were broken down; all the paſſages defended; while on his march he was continually harraſſed by flying parties of the enemy; he ſaw bodies of troops on the other bank ready

ready to oppoſe every attempt; his proviſions were cut off; his troops languiſhed with ſickneſs and fatigue; and his affairs appeared to be reduced to a moſt deſperate ſituation. He, however, at length paſſed the river with his little army near St. Quintin.

Henry ſtill proceeded on his march, expoſed to great and imminent dangers from the enemy, who uſed every method of intercepting his retreat; and he was ſurprized to obſerve from the heighths, the whole French army drawn up in the plains of Agincourt, and poſted in ſuch a manner, that it was impoſſible for him to continue his march, without coming to an engagement. In appearance, nothing could be more unequal than the battle, upon which every thing now depended. His army conſiſted of little more than half the number which had diſembarked at Harfleur; and they exhauſted by diſtemper and fatigue, and almoſt deſtitute of proviſions and accommodations. The enemy's army was four times more numerous; was headed by the dauphin and all the princes of the blood; and was well ſupplied with proviſions of every kind. Thus Henry's ſituation reſembled that of Edward at Creſſy, and that of the Black Prince at Poictiers; and the memory of thoſe glorious victories, inſpiring his troops with freſh courage, made them hope for the like ſucceſs. The king imitated theſe great commanders in their prudent conduct: he drew up his troops on a narrow ſpot, between two woods, which ſecured each flank;

flank; and in that ſituation patiently expected the enemy.

On the 22d of October, the French generals informed Henry by a herald, that on the Friday following they would give him battle. Henry accepted the challenge, and even made the herald who brought it, a preſent of a rich robe and two hundred crowns. During this interval of three days, he took every precaution which prudence could dictate: he procured ſuch refreſhments for his ſoldiers as the nature of their ſituation would admit; he cauſed their weapons and armour to be refitted and repaired, and ſharp ſtakes to be fixed for the defence of the archers; he continued night and day on horſe-back, riding through the lines, to animate his ſoldiers, reminding them of the great victories obtained by their forefathers in France, and telling them, that the enemy, though numerous, were raw and undiſciplined; yet he plainly let them know, that nothing but the extraordinary efforts of valour, could preſerve them from death or captivity. By this means, added to his activity and ſeeming confidence of ſucceſs, he inſpired them with ſuch ardour, that they were ſo far from dreading the number of their enemies, that they eagerly wiſhed for the battle; and in hopes of being relieved by a ſpeedy victory, they bore their diſtreſſes with heroic patience, without being in the leaſt intimidated by the ſuperior number of the enemy. Thus on the day that preceeded the battle, Henry having ſent David Gam, a Welch captain, to view the ſtrength of

of the enemy, that officer bravely replied, "There are enough to be killed, enough "to be taken priſoners, and enough to run "away."

While Henry thus behaved like an able and diligent commander, the French officers ſpent their time in riot and rejoicing; and looking with contempt on the handful of Engliſh, who did not exceed fourteen thouſand men, that appeared half dead with diſeaſe and famine, they conſidered themſelves as ſure of victory. It is even ſaid, that they played at dice for the Engliſh priſoners; ſent orders to the neighbouring villages, to prepare lodgings for them; and on the morning of the engagement, diſpatched another herald to Henry, to know what he was willing to give for his ranſom; on which he deſired the meſſenger to inform thoſe that ſent him, that a little time would decide to whom the ranſom belonged.

As ſoon as it was light, both armies were drawn up in order of battle. The conſtable d'Albret divided his army into three bodies, he himſelf, accompanied by the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, with many other nobles, commanding the van. The ſecond line was commanded by the duke of Alençon, aſſiſted by the duke of Bar; and at the head of the third body, were the counts of Marle, Faquenberg, Dampmartin, and the ſieur de Lauroy. While the French were employed in arranging theſe lines, which ſtood ſo thick in the narrow ground choſen by Henry, that the ſoldiers had ſcarce room to uſe their weapons,

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the king concealed four hundred lances in the wood upon the right, and about two hundred and fifty choice archers in a low meadow covered with buſhes. The right wing of the Engliſh, which was commanded by the duke of York, with the lords Beaumont, Willoughby, and Stanhope, was advanced before the centre, which was commanded by the king, who was attended by his brother, the duke of Glouceſter, the earl Marſhal, and the young earl of Suffolk. The left, which may be termed the rear, as it had not advanced ſo far as the other diviſions, was under the command of the duke of Exeter.

The French ſtood for ſome time in order of battle, at the diſtance of two hundred and fifty paces, without proceeding to the attack, and Henry began to imagine, that they intended to ſtarve him into a ſurrender, which would have been their wiſeſt courſe, as his proviſions were quite exhauſted, and the weather ſo rainy, that it would have been impracticable to keep the field. Henry immediately rode along the line, and exhorted his ſoldiers to behave like Engliſhmen; and then alighting from his horſe, took his ſtation in the main body, ordering Sir Thomas Erpingham to throw up his truncheon as a ſignal for the attack. Immediately the ſoldiers of the foremoſt ranks removing the ſtakes which had beeen ſet in the front to reſiſt the fury of the cavalry, the whole army, with a loud ſhout, advanced towards the enemy. Henry ordered them to halt about mid-way, where the foremoſt rank fixed their ſtakes,

ſtakes, bending them a little towards the enemy. At the ſame time a body of choſen archers advancing ſome paces, diſcharged a flight of arrows, which did great execution, the enemy ſtanding ſo thick that every ſhaft took place; but ſoon obſerving the enemy's cavalry in motion to attack them, retired within their palliſadoes in admirable order, and let fly at their aſſailants with ſuch ſucceſs, that they began to fall into confuſion. The troops that lay in ambuſh on each ſide, now ſuddenly charging them in flank, encreaſed the diſorder, which was the greater, from the horſes ſinking up to the knees, in the ground which had been ſoftened by the rain. The Engliſh ſeeing this confuſion, flung their bows, and ruſhing upon them with their battle-axes and daggers, made a terrible ſlaughter. Though the front line of the French was compoſed of their beſt troops, commanded by the conſtable in perſon, and animated by the preſence and example of many noblemen, it could not ſuſtain the impetuoſity of the charge; and being once thrown into diſorder, all oppoſition ceaſed: for they were ſo far from being able to rally, that they had ſcarce room to turn, and were ſo crouded together, that they themſelves contributed to the victory, the Engliſh purſuing the ſlaughter till they were tired.

Notwithſtanding the conſtable and many principal officers were ſlain, and even their firſt line entirely routed, the battle was ſtill undecided; for the ſecond line ſtood firm. On which thoſe of the Engliſh, who were fatigued

tigued with the action, retired behind the main body to take breath, while Henry led up his diviſion to the charge, and performed exploits of valour, that aſtoniſhed all who beheld him. In the mean time eighteen French knights, who had entered into an aſſociation to take him alive or dead, made their way to the place where he fought, and one of them ſtunned him with a blow of his battle-ax, which happily did not penetrate his helmet. He would now have probably periſhed, had not David Gam, the Welch captain, with two other officers, his countrymen, ruſhed between him and the aſſailants, and ſaved him at the expence of their lives. The eighteen French knights were all ſlain, and Henry, ſtimulated by the danger he had juſt eſcaped, ruſhed amidſt the enemy with redoubled fury, till he and his brother, the duke of Glouceſter, who fought by his ſide, were ſeparated from the troops they commanded. In this dangerous ſituation Glouceſter was knocked down, and Henry covering him with his own body, ſuſtained the ſhock of the aſſailants, by which he was ſo expoſed, that he at length received a blow on the head, which made him ſtagger and fall on his knees. At this critical moment his guard advancing, drove back the enemy, and gave him time to riſe. The king's danger, and the wonders he performed, inſpiring his troops with a kind of fury, they ruſhed upon the French with ſuch impetuoſity, as to throw them into a confuſion which their officers could never repair. The duke of Alençon,

çon, enraged at ſeeing the battle loſt by the defeat of the ſecond line, bravely reſolved to die honourably, rather than ſurvive the diſgrace of his country; and with a ſmall number of bold and reſolute perſons, furiouſly cut his way through the Engliſh troops, and every where ſought the king of England, in hopes of revenging, by one ſingle blow, the loſs ſuſtained by the French. It was not difficult to find him, and the moment the duke beheld him, he ruſhed forward, and exclaiming, that he was the duke of Alençon, diſcharged ſuch a blow at his head, that he took off one half of the gold crown on his helmet. Henry inſtantly ſtruck the duke to the ground, and with his own hand, ſlew two of his followers. He endeavoured to ſave Alençon's life, but the guards were ſo exaſperated, that before the king could interpoſe effectually in his behalf, he was ſlain. The French made no oppoſition after the death of that nobleman, but betook themſelves to flight.

The third line was, however, ſtill freſh and in good order, while the victors were ready to faint with the fatigue of the action, and the weakneſs occaſioned by the dyſentery, which was ſo violent, that they are ſaid to have fought without their breeches. But the third diviſion of the French was ſo intimidated by the ſlaughter and defeat of the other lines, and at the Engliſh horſe wheeling off to charge them in the rear, that it was not in the power of their officers to make them advance, and they retired from the field of battle, though they ſtill con-

tinued in a body, leaving the flying troops of the ſecond line expoſed to the fury of the Engliſh, by whom they were cloſely purſued; and as their numbers were an obſtacle to their flight, they were ſlain or taken priſoners, at the pleaſure of their victorious enemies. Mean while the troops that retired without fighting, ſtill appeared at a diſtance, and Henry perceiving that they were more numerous than his whole army, ſent a herald to them with his commands, to leave the field, or he would give them no quarter. This menace ſucceeded to expectation, and they inſtantly diſperſed.

Henry now thought the victory complete, but ſuddenly he was informed, that his enemies were in the rear, and had already plundered his camp. Surprized at this unexpected turn, he haſtily aſcended a ſmall eminence to take a view of theſe new enemies, and perceived the troops left to guard his camp diſperſed about the field, and endeavouring to eſcape by flight. Concluding, that the French had rallied, in order to renew the battle, he inſtantly commanded all the priſoners, except thoſe of high rank, to be put to the ſword, which was in part executed; for on the diſcovery of the truth, he cauſed a ſtop to be put to the ſlaughter, and was ſtill ſo happy as to be able to ſave a great number. He then ſpeedily rallying his troops, marched back to the camp, which he found already plundered by a body of fugitives, who retiring by times out of the battle, and knowing the Engliſh camp was but weakly guarded, pillaged it while the two armies

mies were engaged, but retired at Henry's approach. The above maſſacre caſts a ſtain on this glorious victory; but it appeared to Henry to be unavoidable, from the impoſſibility of the Engliſh being able to guard their priſoners, who are ſaid to have equalled or exceeded their conquerors; and the king's juſt apprehenſions, leſt, during the fight, which he ſeemed on the point of renewing, they would turn againſt him. Nothing now remaining to oppoſe his victorious arms, his firſt care was to return thanks to God for ſo ſignal a victory, and publickly to acknowledge, that it was owing to him alone.

In this memorable battle, which was fought on the 25th of October, 1415, the French are ſaid to have loſt three dukes, ſix earls, ninety barons, fifteen hundred knights, and ſeven thouſand eſquires or gentlemen. Among the priſoners, who amounted to 14,000 before the maſſacre, the moſt eminent of thoſe who were ſaved, were the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the earls of Eu, Vendome, Richemont, Etouteville, and marſhal Boucicaut. The perſons of chief note, who fell among the Engliſh, were the duke of York and the young earl of Suffolk; and their whole loſs is ſaid not to have exceeded four hundred men.

The next day the king purſued his march towards Calais, after having obtained a plentiful ſupply of all neceſſaries from the French camp. In paſſing over the field of battle, after commending the valour of his troops, he exhorted thoſe who were near him, not to be

vainly proud of the victory, which was gained by the miraculous assistance of the Lord of Hosts. He treated the French prisoners, during his march, with the utmost politeness, telling them, that he had not obtained the victory by his superior valour, but because God was pleased to make him his instrument to punish the sins of the French nation; and that the advantages that might be expected from this victory, were so far from rendering him averse to a peace, that he was even more inclined to it than on the day preceding the battle.

Henry proceeded with his prisoners directly to Calais, and soon after embarked with them for England, when, after a dangerous passage, he landed at Dover, from whence he proceeded to London, where he was received in triumph, amidst the acclamations of the people. He then appointed a day of thanksgiving for the success of the campaign, and bestowed the most honourable absequies on the duke of York and the earl of Suffolk. The former of these noblemen was succeeded in his honours and fortune by his nephew, the son of the earl of Cambridge, who had been executed in the beginning of the year at Southampton. Henry concluded a truce with France, and it was two years before any body of English forces appeared in that kingdom.

During this interval, France was exposed to all the miseries of a civil war; for the animosities of the several parties daily encreased. The discredit into which the French ministers and generals were fallen by the defeat of Agincourt,

court, encouraged the duke of Burgundy to march with a great army to Paris, and attempt to recover the poſſeſſion of the government, and of the king's perſon. But his partizans in the city, being over awed by the court, were afraid to join him; on which the duke, deſpairing of ſucceſs, retired with his forces into the Netherlands, where he diſbanded them.

The next year the duke was invited to make a new attempt, by the violent quarrels which broke out even in the royal family. Iſabella, the queen, the duke of Bavaria's daughter, had been hitherto the profeſſed enemy to the duke of Burgundy, but having been moſt injuriouſly treated by the other party, that princeſs's implacable ſpirit would not ſtoop to forgive it. The count of Armagnac, who had been created conſtable of France in the room of d'Albret, was obliged, by the public neceſſities, to ſeize the great treaſures amaſſed by Iſabella; and on her expreſſing her reſentment for this injury, he inſtilled into the weak mind of the king a jealouſy of this princeſs, and induced him to ſeize, put to the torture, and then threw into the Seine, Boiſbourdon, her favourite, whom he accuſed of carrying on a criminal converſation with the queen. She herſelf was ſent to Tours, and confined under a guard. This injurious treatment induced her to enter into a correſpondence with the duke of Burgundy; and her ſon Charles, the dauphin, a youth of ſixteen, being entirely governed by the oppoſite faction, ſhe extended

her animoſity to him; and with the moſt unrelenting hatred ſought his deſtruction. She had ſoon an opportunity of being revenged; for in concert with her, the duke of Burgundy, at the head of a great army, entered France, and made himſelf maſter of Amiens, Abbeville, and other towns in Picardy; Rheims, Senlis, Auxerre, Chalons, and Troye, declared themſelves of his party. He took poſſeſſion of Beaumont, Meulant, Pontoiſe, and Vernon, which were in the neighbourhood of Paris; and extending his progreſs towards the weſt, made himſelf maſter of Etampes, Chartres, and other fortreſſes; and at laſt delivered the queen, who, flying to Troye, declared openly againſt the miniſters, who, ſhe ſaid, held in captivity the king, her huſband.

In the mean time the duke of Burgundy's partizans raiſed an inſurrection in Paris; and Lile-Adam, one of the duke's captains, being received into the city in the night, placed himſelf at the head of the people, who inſtantly became ſo ſtrong, that nothing could oppoſe them. They ſeized the king's perſon, while the dauphin, with much difficulty, made his eſcape. They inſtantly butchered great numbers of the faction of Armagnac, and threw the count himſelf, and many perſons of note, into priſon: under the pretence of party, murders were daily committed from private animoſity; and at length the populace, breaking into the priſons, murdered the count of Armagnac, amd the reſt of the nobility who were confined.

France

France was in this dreadful confuſion, which rendered that nation ill prepared to reſiſt a foreign enemy, when Henry landed in Normandy on the firſt of Auguſt, 1418, at the head of 25,000 men; and finding little reſiſtance, ſoon made himſelf maſter of Falaiſe and Cherburg; Caen and Evreux ſubmitted to him; Pont de l'Arche opened its gates, and Henry having ſubdued Lower Normandy, obtained a reinforcement of 15,000 men from England, and laid ſiege to Rouen, which had a garriſon of 4000 men, ſeconded by the inhabitants, who amounted to 15,000. Here the cardinal des Urſins endeavoured to moderate his pretenſions, and incline him towards a peace: but the king, fully ſenſible of his advantages, anſwered, "Do you not ſee, that God has "conducted me hither, as by the hand? "France has no ſovereign: I have a juſt "claim to that kingdom: every thing here is "in the utmoſt confuſion, and no one thinks "of reſiſting me. Can I have a more con"vincing proof, that the great Being, who "diſpoſes of empires, has determined to place "the crown of France upon my head?"

Henry, though filled with ambition, ſtill carried on a negociation with his enemies, endeavouring to obtain advantages that were more ſecure, though leſs conſiderable. He offered terms of peace to both parties; to the queen and duke of Burgundy, who had the appearance of legal authority, from their having the king in their poſſeſſion; and to the dauphin, who being undoubted heir to the crown,

crown; was adhered to by all who had any regard to the intereſt of their country. A continual negociation was alſo carried on between the two parties with each other; while the terms on all ſides were perpetually varying, and the fate of France remained for a long time in the utmoſt uncertainty. At length, Henry propoſed to the queen and the duke of Burgundy, to conclude a peace with them, to marry the princeſs Catharine, and to be ſatisfied with receiving all the provinces ceded to Edward III. by the treaty of Bretigny, with only the addition of Normandy, of which he was to enjoy the entire ſovereignty. To theſe terms they ſubmitted, and only ſome circumſtances remained to be adjuſted, in order to complete the victory: but during this interval, the duke of Burgundy and the dauphin, ſecretly concluded a treaty, in which they agreed to ſhare the royal authority during the life of the king, and to unite their arms againſt their foreign enemy.

This alliance, which appeared to exclude Henry from all his hopes of ſucceſs, ſoon proved of advantage to him. It is uncertain, whether the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy were ſincere in theſe engagements; but they agreed to an interview, in order to concert the means of expelling the Engliſh: however, it ſeemed difficult to contrive in what manner this conference might be carried on with ſafety. The aſſaſſination which the duke of Burgundy had perpetrated, and his open avowal and defence of that baſe and cruel act, tend-

tended to diſſolve all the bands of civil ſociety, and every reaſon for confidence in him. Hence the duke agreed to every contrivance for their mutual ſecurity, propoſed by the dauphin's miniſters. The two princes went to Montereau: the dauphin lodged in the town, and the duke in the caſtle, which was divided from the town by the river Yonne: the place choſen for the interview was the bridge between them, and two high rails were placed acroſs it: the gates on each ſide were guarded; one by the dauphin's officers, and the other by thoſe of the duke. The princes, each accompanied by ten perſons, were to enter the intermediate ſpace by the oppoſite gates; and amidſt all theſe marks of diffidence, to conciliate their mutual friendſhip. But no precaution can afford ſecurity where the principles of honour are abandoned. Thoſe who attended the dauphin having been the zealous partizans of the late duke of Orleans, reſolved to ſeize this opportunity of revenging on the aſſaſſin that prince's murder; and no ſooner entered the rails, than drawing their ſwords, they attacked and ſlew the duke of Burgundy, while his friends, ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, made no defence, and either ſhared his fate or were taken priſoners by the dauphin's retinue.

This prince's youth rendered it at firſt doubtful, whether he was admitted into the ſecret of the conſpiracy; but the deed being committed under his eye by the chief officers of his houſhold, who were his moſt intimate friends, and his afterwards keeping thoſe murderers

derers in his ſervice, fixed the blame of the action entirely upon him. By this unexpected event, the ſtate of affairs was every where changed. The inhabitants of Paris, who were zealouſly devoted to the duke of Burgundy, were enflamed with fury againſt the dauphin. King Charles's court entered into the ſame views; and as all that monarch's miniſters were indebted to the late duke for their preferment, and foreſaw, that if the dauphin recovered the poſſeſſion of his father's perſon, it would involve them in diſgrace, they eagerly endeavoured to prevent, by every means, the ſucceſs of his enterprize. The queen, who ſtill maintained her animoſity againſt her ſon, increaſed the general flame; and infuſed into the king the prejudices by which ſhe herſelf had been long actuated. At the ſame time Philip, count of Charolois, the preſent duke of Burgundy, imagined himſelf bound, by all the obligations of duty and honour, to revenge his father's murder. Amidſt this general rage, all parties buried in oblivion every conſideration of national intereſt: the expulſion of the lawful heir, the ſubjection to a foreign enemy, and the ſlavery of the kingdom appeared but ſmall evils, while they led to the gratification of the prevailing paſſion.

Henry had, before the death of the duke of Burgundy, reaped great advantage from the diſtractions in France. He had, after an obſtinate ſiege, taken the city of Rouen: he had rendered himſelf maſter of Giſors and Pontois: he even threatened Paris, and had obliged

obliged the court to remove to Troye. In the midſt of his ſucceſs, he was, in 1419, agreeably ſurprized to find that his enemies, inſtead of uniting againſt him, were diſpoſed to ruſh into his arms, and to render him the inſtrument of their revenge againſt each other. A league between him and the duke of Burgundy was immediately concluded at Arras. That prince making no other ſtipulation for himſelf, but the proſecution of his father's murder, and the duke of Bedford's marriage with his ſiſter, willingly agreed to all Henry's demands. To put the finiſhing ſtroke to this treaty, which was to place a ſtranger on the throne of France, Henry, in 1420, went to Troye, attended by his brothers, the dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter, and was met there by the duke of Burgundy, as well as by the king and queen of France, and the princeſs Catharine, to whom he preſented a ring of great value. The treaty, to which all the parties had already agreed, was ſoon drawn up, ſigned, and ratified. Through the whole negociation Henry's will ſeemed to be a law, and nothing was attended to but his advantage.

The following were the chief articles of the treaty of Troye: that Henry ſhould marry the princeſs Catharine: that king Charles ſhould enjoy, during his life, the title and dignity of king of France: that Henry ſhould be acknowledged the heir to that kingdom, of which he ſhould be thenceforward regent, and be entruſted with the adminiſtration of the government: and that the kingdom ſhould paſs

to

to his heirs: that France and England ſhould for ever be united under one king; but ſhould ſtill retain their diſtinct privileges, uſages and cuſtoms: that all the princes, peers, vaſſals, and communities of France, ſhould ſwear both to adhere to the future ſucceſſion of Henry, and pay him preſent obedience as regent: that he ſhould unite his arms to thoſe of king Charles and the duke of Burgundy, in order to reduce to obedience the adherents of Charles, the pretended dauphin; and that no peace or truce ſhould be made by theſe three princes with him, but by their common conſent.

This treaty could be dictated by nothing but the moſt violent animoſity; and had it taken effect, it would be difficult to ſay, whether it would have proved moſt prejudicial to England or to France. It would have reduced the former kingdom to the rank of a province; and with reſpect to the latter, it would have brought on the deſtruction of the many great families, whoſe titles being preferable to that of the Engliſh princes, they would have been expoſed to the perpetual jealouſy of the king. Henry's claim was, in every reſpect, deficient: for, beſides the inſuperable objections to which the pretenſions of Edward the Third were expoſed, Henry was not heir to that monarch: if the female ſucceſſion were admitted, the right had devolved to the houſe of Mortimer. But though amidſt the hurry of paſſions, which actuated the courts of France and Burgundy, theſe conſiderations were overlooked, they would neceſſarily revive in more

tranquil

tranquil times. Henry was therefore under the neceſſity of purſuing his preſent advantages, and allowing no time for reaſon and reflection.

In a few days after this treaty, the king eſpouſed the princeſs Catharine, and taking his father in-law to Paris, put himſelf in the poſſeſſion of that capital: he then obtained from the parliament, and the three eſtates, a ratification of the above treaty, and ſupported the duke of Burgundy in procuring a ſentence againſt his father's murderers. Henry then turned his arms againſt thoſe who adhered to the dauphin, who, on his hearing of the treaty of Troye, aſſumed the title of regent, and appealed to God and his ſword in ſupport of it.

Henry firſt laid ſiege to Sens, which, after a ſlight reſiſtance, opened its gates. He took Montereau with the ſame facility. Melun made an obſtinate defence; for Barbaſan, the governor, held out a ſiege of four months, till he was obliged by famine to capitulate. Henry conſented, that the lives of all the garriſon ſhould be ſpared, except thoſe of the accomplices of the duke of Burgundy's murder; and Barbaſon himſelf being ſuſpected to be one of them, Philip demanded his puniſhment; but Henry interceding for him, prevented his execution.

Henry being under the neceſſity of procuring ſupplies both of men and money, came over to England, and during his abſence, left his uncle, the duke of Exeter, governor of

Paris. On his arrival in this kingdom, about the end of February, 1421, the queen was crowned, and a parliament ſummoned to meet at Leiceſter on the 2d of May. While the people were buſy in chuſing their repreſentatives, the king and queen took a progreſs into the ſeveral counties, and ſtayed ſome weeks at York. The parliament granted him a ſubſidy of a fifteenth; a ſcanty ſupply, which ſhews that they were not highly pleaſed with the king's victories; and that in proportion as the proſpect of their being united to France became nearer, they began to ſee the dangerous conſequences that would attend that event. Henry had now, however, other reſources. The provinces he had already ſubdued, ſupported his troops; and all the ambitious men in England, who deſired to diſtinguiſh themſelves in the field, were allured by their hopes to his ſtandard. He therefore eaſily raiſed a new army of 4000 horſe and 24,000 archers, with whom he marched to Dover.

The Scots, on receiving intelligence of Henry's progreſs, and the proſpect of his ſucceeding to the crown of France, were greatly alarmed; and foreſaw, that the ſubjection of their ally would be attended with their inevitable ruin; ſince they would be left to combat alone a victorious enemy, ſo much ſuperior to them in power and riches. The detention of the young king of Scots in England, had hitherto been of great advantage to Henry, as it kept the regent in awe, and during the French war, had preſerved the north of England in tran-

tranquility. But the regent had permitted the earl of Buchan, his ſecond ſon, to ſail to France with a body of 7000 Scots for the dauphin's ſervice. Henry, in order to render this aid ineffectual, had, in his former expeditions, taken with him the king of Scotland, whom he obliged to ſend orders to his countrymen, to leave the French ſervice; the Scotch general, however, anſwered, that he would obey no command of a captive king; and theſe troops, which continued ſtill to act under the earl of Buchan, the dauphin ſent to oppoſe the progreſs of Henry's brother, the duke of Clarence, in Anjou. The two armies came to an engagement at Bougé, in which the Engliſh, being over-powered by numbers, were defeated, and the duke himſelf was wounded in the face by Sir Allan Swinton, a Scotch knight, and killed by the earl of Buchan. The Engliſh had 1500 men ſlain, and many taken priſoners. Among the ſlain were the earls of Kent, the lords Gray and Roſs, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction; and among the priſoners were the earls of Somerſet, Dorſet, and Huntingdon. This was the firſt battle in which the Engliſh were defeated; and the dauphin, in order to reward the conduct of the earl of Buchan, and attach the Scotch to his ſervice, created that nobleman conſtable of France.

Henry's arrival with theſe forces appeared more than ſufficient to repair this loſs. He was received at Paris with great expreſſions of joy, and immediately marched to Chartres,

which had been for a long time beſieged by the dauphin, who now, on the approach of the Engliſh, raiſed the ſiege, and retired with his army. Henry then took poſſeſſion of Dreux without oppoſition; after which, at the ſolicitation of the Pariſians, he inveſted Meaux, and carried on the ſiege during eight months. The baſtard of Vaurus, governor of Meaux, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his obſtinate defence, was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. This officer's cruelty was equal to his valour, he being accuſtomed to hang all the Engliſh and Burgundians that fell into his hands; and to revenge this barbarity, Henry ordered him to be inſtantly hanged up on the ſame tree, on which his inhuman executions had been performed.

Many other places in the neighbourhood of Paris now ſurrendered to Henry; and the dauphin was obliged to abandon almoſt all the northern provinces. The Engliſh and Burgundians driving him before them, threatened him with total deſtruction; and being unequal to his enemies in the field, he was obliged to temporize, and to avoid every hazardous action. This ſcene of proſperity was crowned by the queen being delivered of a ſon, who was alſo called Henry. The infant prince appeared to be univerſally regarded, as the future heir of both kingdoms; and his birth was celebrated by rejoicings that were no leſs pompous at Paris than at London.

But while Henry was pleaſing himſelf with the proſpect of new victories that would ren-

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der him maſter of all France, he was ſtopped ſhort, and all his mighty projects vaniſhed. He was ſeized with a diſeaſe *, which ſoon made him ſenſible that his end was approaching, on which he ſent for his brothers, the duke of Bedford, the duke of Exeter, the earl of Warwick, and ſeveral other noblemen, to whom he gave his laſt inſtructions. He told them, that he beheld the approach of death without terror, but could not help lamenting the fate of the prince, his ſon, who from his tender age was incapable of finiſhing a work ſo happily begun. He entreated them, for God's ſake, to remain in ſtrict union for the ſervice of the infant prince, who was going to be their king; to take care of his education, and to give the queen all the conſolation in their power. He recommended to all of them great attention to maintain the friendſhip of the duke of Burgundy, and to take care not to reſtore to liberty the priſoners taken at Agincourt, till his ſon was of age, and could himſelf hold the reins of government; and conjured them, that if the ſucceſs of their arms ſhould not enable them to place young Henry on the throne of France, never to conclude a peace with that kingdom, unleſs the French, by the

* Several French hiſtorians ſay, that he died of a flux, accompanied with the piles. Walſingham ſays, that through the hardſhips and fatigues he underwent, he contracted an acute fever, accompanied with a dyſentery; but Peter Baſſet, who, at the time of his death, was his chamberlain, affirms, that he died of a pleureſy.

ceſſion of Normandy, and its being annexed to the crown of England, made a compenſation for all the hazard and expence of his enterprize. He concluded with ſaying, that it was his deſire, that the duke of Bedford, his elder brother, ſhould take upon him the adminiſtration of the affairs of France; that his younger brother, the duke of Glouceſter, ſhould be protector of England during his ſon's minority, and that the earl of Warwick ſhould have the care of his ſon's perſon.

He then aſked his phyſicians how long they thought he had to live. When one of them kneeling, ſaid, with tears in his eyes, that without a miracle, he could not live above two hours. This ſeemed to give him no concern; but ſending for his confeſſor, he made his confeſſion, and then ordered his chaplain to read the ſeven penitential pſalms. When he came to that paſſage of the 51ſt pſalm, "build thou the walls of Jeruſalem," he interrupted the chaplain, and declared, that it was his ſerious intention, after he had fully ſubdued France, to have made a cruſade againſt the infidels, for the recovery of Jeruſalem out of their hands. Henry had no ſooner finiſhed his devotions than he expired on the 31ſt of Auguſt, 1422, in the 34th year of his age, and the tenth of his reign. His body was brought to England, and interred among his anceſtors in Weſtminſter abbey, with a pomp ſuitable to the grandeur he enjoyed when living, and to the eſteem of his ſubjects; and his queen, in honour of her illuſtrious ſpouſe, cauſed

The Monument of King Henry V.

cauſed to be laid on his tomb, a ſtatue of ſilver gilt, extremely like him, and as large as the life.

Henry left by Catharine of France, his queen, only one ſon, who was not quite nine months old; an unfortunate prince, whoſe life was filled with calamities. Catharine, his mother, ſoon after Henry's death, married Sir Owen Tudor, a Welch gentleman, ſaid to be deſcended from the ancient princes of Wales. By him ſhe had two ſons, Edmund, who was created earl of Richmond, and Jaſper, earl of Pembroke. By this alliance the family of Tudor, which afterwards aſcended the throne of England, was firſt raiſed to diſtinction.

Henry, who was ſurnamed of Monmouth, from the place of his birth, was ſomewhat above the middle ſize; his countenance was beautiful, and his limbs genteel, ſlender, and of a moſt elegant turn; yet he was full of vigour, he excelled in all warlike and manly exerciſes, and was able to endure cold, hunger, and fatigue, to as great a degree as the moſt hardy ſoldier in his army; he had a moſt engaging deportment, and his abilities appeared equally in the cabinet and in the field. He had the art of engaging the affections of mankind by his affability, and of gaining his enemies by his clemency and addreſs. Hence the French almoſt forgot his being an enemy; and the care he took to preſerve diſcipline in his army, made ſome atonement to both nations for thoſe calamities which aroſe from the wars wherein he was almoſt conſtantly employed.

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The boldneſs of his enterprizes was as remarkable as that perſonal valour with which he conducted them; and his warlike exploits have been the principal ſubject of the panegyrics of hiſtorians. Indeed the conqueſt of France, conſidered in itſelf, had ſomething in it grand and glorious; but it was done at a time when the civil diſſenſions of the French rendered them unable to defend themſelves; and that conqueſt, with the ſtruggles of the Engliſh to preſerve it, coſt the nation a deluge of blood. Though he was a great and diſtinguiſhed warrior, his principal merit as a king, conſiſted of his being poſſeſſed of the milder virtues, which in a peaceful reign would have greatly contributed to the proſperity and happineſs of his people. His forgiving the earl of Marche, notwithſtanding his having a better title to the crown than himſelf, is a convincing proof of his magnanimity. He ſhewed his regard for his people, by conſtantly forbearing to encroach on their liberties and privileges; and his being ever ready to give the royal aſſent to thoſe acts, which the parliament eſteemed neceſſary for the welfare of the kingdom, was an evident proof, that he had the good and happineſs of his people at heart. He loved juſtice, which he made the rule of his own conduct, and cauſed it to be obſerved by others, though in his treatment of Sir John Oldcaſtle, and the reſt of the Lollards, he was impoſed upon by the clergy, and conſented to their unjuſt perſecution in order to oblige the eccleſiaſtics. He was however very religious, and conſtant both

both in his public and private devotions, and, in ſhort, was ſo happy as to die in the midſt of his proſperity, and not to live like Edward the Third, to ſee the fruit of all his labours deſtroyed.

Miscellaneous Incidents.

It has been already obſerved, that Edward the Third, towards the latter end of his reign, coined twenty five ſhillings out of a pound troy; Henry V. went ſtill farther, and coined thirty ſhillings from a pound troy.

The ordinary revenue of the crown during this reign, amounted only to 55,714l. 10s. 10d. a year, which muſt have been about 110,000l. of our preſent money; and from the cheapneſs of proviſions, was equivalent to above 330,000l. The ordinary expence of the government amounted to 42,507l. 16s. 10d; whence the king had only a ſurplus of 13,206l. 14s. for the ſupport of his houſhold, his wardrobe, the expence of embaſſies, and other articles; on which account he was frequently obliged to have recourſe to parliament for ſupplies; and thus in time of peace, was far from being independant of his people. War was then attended with an expence, which neither the king's ordinary revenue, nor his extraordinary ſupplies were able to ſupport. Hence the ſovereign was commonly reduced to the neceſſity of borrowing money from all quarters; he pawned his jewels, and ſometimes the crown itſelf; notwithſtanding which, he was often forced to ſtop in the midſt of his victo-

victories, and to grant a truce to the enemy, till he could gain a freſh ſupply; and Henry, till within a year of his death, owed debts which he had contracted when prince of Wales.

In this reign the council of Conſtance finally terminated the long ſchiſm which divided the Latin church for near forty years; by depoſing pope John XXIII. for his crimes, and electing Martin V. in his room, who was acknowledged by moſt of the kingdoms of Europe.

CHAP.

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HENRY VI.

CHAP. IV.

HENRY VI.

The Government during the minority of this Prince. The State of Charles's Affairs in France. Military Operations under the Duke of Bedford in France. The Battle of Verneüil. The Siege of Orleans raiſed by Joan of Arc, after which Charles is crowned at Rheims. The prudent Conduct of the Duke of Bedford. Joan of Arc taken Priſoner and burnt. The Duke of Burgundy's Defection. The Duke of Bedford's Death. A Truce with France, and Henry's Marriage with Margaret of Anjou. The Duke of Glouceſter's Murder. The Renewal of the War with France. The Engliſh expelled from that Kingdom. The Duke of York's Claim to the Crown. The Impeachment, Baniſhment and Death, of the Earl of Suffolk. Popular Inſurrections. The Duke of York takes Arms. The Battles of St. Albans, Black-heath, Northampton, and Wakefield. The Duke of York's Death. The Battle of Mortimer's Croſs, and the ſecond Battle of St. Alban's. Edward IV. *aſſumes the Crown. Miſcellaneous Incidents.*

NO ſooner was the death of Henry the Fifth known in England, than the duke of Glouceſter, who had exerciſed the office of guar-

guardian, cauſed Henry VI. to be proclaimed king at London, and iſſued writs in the name of that prince, for a parliament to meet at Weſtminſter on the 9th of November. The parliament met at the appointed time; and being encouraged, by the proſpect of a long minority, to extend their influence, the lords and commons paid little regard to the late king's verbal declarations, and aſſumed the power of giving a new arrangement to the whole adminiſtration. They entirely ſet aſide the name of regent, with reſpect to England; and inſtead of the duke of Glouceſter, appointed his elder brother, the duke of Bedford, protector or guardian of the kingdom, ſuppoſing that theſe titles implied leſs authority: the duke of Glouceſter was inveſted with the ſame authority during his brother's abſence; and to limit their power, they appointed a council, without whoſe advice and approbation they could perform nothing of importance. They committed the care of the prince's perſon and education to Henry Beaufort, biſhop of Wincheſter, his great uncle, the legitimated ſon of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter. The dukes of Bedford and Glouceſter, who appeared injured by this plan of government, being men of integrity and honour, willingly acquieſced in any appointment that tended to the ſecurity of the ſtate; and the wars in France appearing an object of the greateſt conſequence, they avoided every diſpute that might obſtruct the conqueſts of the Engliſh in that kingdom.

In

The Duke of BEDFORD,
Regent of FRANCE.

In leſs than two months after Henry's death, his father-in-law, Charles VI. of France, concluded his unhappy life. At this time every advantage ſeemed to be on the ſide of the Engliſh; and it might have been expected, that the dauphin would have been for ever excluded the throne of France; for though Henry was in his infancy, the duke of Bedford, on whom the adminiſtration devolved, and who was allowed to enjoy the title of regent in France, was a moſt accompliſhed prince, whoſe experience, prudence, and valour, qualified him for his high office, and not only enabled him to preſerve a perfect union among his friends, but to obtain the confidence even of his enemies. He had the whole power of England at his command; and while at the head of armies accuſtomed to victory, was ſeconded by the moſt celebrated generals of that warlike age, as the earls of Somerſet, Saliſbury, Suffolk, Warwick, and Arundel, Sir John Talbot, and Sir John Faſtolfe; and was maſter not only of Guienne, the ancient inheritance of England, but of Paris, and almoſt all the northern provinces, which were able to furniſh him with ſupplies both of men and money.

On the other hand, Charles, immediately after his father's death, was proclaimed and crowned king of France at Poictiers, under the name of Charles VII. This ceremony is uſually performed at Rheims; but that city was then in the hands of his enemies. Tho' his power was at preſent much inferior to that

of the Engliſh, he was poſſeſſed of great advantages: he was the undoubted heir to the crown of France; and every Frenchman, who deſired the independance of his country, caſt his eyes on him; and his excluſion, on account of his father's imbecility, and the precipitate conſent of the ſtates, had now no validity. That factious ſpirit by which the people had been blinded, was incapable of holding them under ſo groſs a deluſion; and their national and inveterate hatred of the authors of all their calamities, would naturally ſoon revive, and fill them with indignation at the thoughts of bending their necks under the yoke of that warlike nation; and though moſt of the princes of the blood had been detained priſoners in England ever ſince the fatal battle of Agincourt, their friends and vaſſals were zealouſly attached to Charles.

That prince was of a friendly diſpoſition, eaſy and familiar in his manners; and being ſincere, generous, and affable, engaged the affection of his followers. His love of pleaſure, indeed, frequently ſeduced him into indolence; but by his ſometimes exerting his courage and activity, he gave proofs of his neither wanting perſonal valour nor ambition.

The duke of Bedford, ſenſible that his title rendered him formidable, and that the chief circumſtance which had enabled the Engliſh to obtain all their preſent advantages, was the duke of Burgundy's reſentment againſt Charles, bent all his endeavours to gratify that paſſion; he treated him with the greateſt reſpect and

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confidence; and to ſtrengthen their national connections by ties of a private nature, concluded his marriage, which had been ſtipulated by the treaty of Arras, with the princeſs of Burgundy.

The regent being alſo ſenſible of the great importance of gaining the friendſhip of the duke of Britanny, was very intent on ſtrengthening himſelf in that quarter. That duke having already received many juſt reaſons of diſpleaſure from Charles's miniſters, had acceded to the treaty of Troye, and with the other vaſſals of the crown, had done homage to Henry V. as heir to the kingdom. The regent, ſenſible that the duke was much governed by the count of Richemont, his brother, alſo endeavoured to pay his court to that haughty prince. Arthur, count of Richemont, had been taken priſoner at the battle of Agincourt, and had been treated by Henry V. with great indulgence, and even permitted, on his parole, to take a journey into Britanny. That prince's death happening before Richemont's return, he pretended, that as he had given his word only to Henry V. he was not obliged to fulfil it towards his ſon. This piece of chicane the regent thought it prudent to overlook. An interview was fixed at Amiens between the dukes of Bedford, Burgundy, and Britanny, at which was alſo preſent the count of Richemont. In that city theſe princes renewed their alliance; and the regent perſuading Philip to give his eldeſt ſiſter in marriage to Richemont, that prince became connected both with the

regent and the duke of Burgundy; and ſeemed engaged by intereſt to promote the ſucceſs of the Engliſh arms.

In the mean time, the duke of Albany, regent of Scotland, dying, his power devolved on Murdac, his ſon, a weak and indolent prince: under his feeble adminiſtration, the ardour of the Scots to ſerve in France broke out afreſh, for they were there treated by Charles with great diſtinction, and the regent's brother enjoyed the poſt of conſtable: new ſuccours were therefore daily ſent over, and the earl of Douglas went to Charles's aſſiſtance, with a reinforcement of 5000 men; there was even juſt reaſon to dread, leſt the Scots ſhould create a diverſion in favour of Charles, by commencing open hoſtilities in the north of England. Hence the duke of Bedford perſuaded the Engliſh council to enter into an alliance with James, their priſoner, to free him from his long captivity, and to form a connection between him and the Engliſh, by marrying him to a daughter of the earl of Somerſet, king Henry's couſin. This treaty was ſoon concluded: a ranſom of 40,000l. was agreed upon; and he being reſtored to the throne of his anceſtors, proved, in his ſhort reign, one of the moſt excellent princes that had ever governed Scotland; and that kingdom, during his reign, gave the Engliſh no reaſon to complain of any breach of the neutrality.

Mean while the regent did not neglect carrying on the war. Though Charles's power was chiefly ſeated in the ſouthern provinces, his

his party poſſeſſed ſome fortreſſes even in the neighbourhood of Paris; and the regent thought it neceſſary, before he attempted more diſtant conqueſts, to ſubdue that part of the country. The caſtle of Dorſoy was obliged to ſurrender, after a ſiege of ſix weeks: that of Noyelle, and the town of Roue, in Picardy, ſuffered the ſame fate: Montaigu, Vertus, and Pont ſur-Seine, were taken by the Engliſh. Soon after, the united forces of England and Burgundy gained a more conſiderable advantage: John Stuart, conſtable of Scotland, with the lord of Eſtiſſac, had laid ſiege to Crevant, in Burgundy; and the earls of Saliſbury and Suffolk, with the count of Toulongeon, being ſent to its relief, an obſtinate battle enſued, in which the Scots and French were defeated, and loſt above a thouſand men, among whom was Sir William Hamilton; among the priſoners were the conſtable of Scotland, with the count of Ventadour. This victory was followed by the taking of Gaillon upon the Seine, and of la Charité upon the Loire, the latter of which opened an entrance into the ſouthern provinces, whence its being taken was an important advantage.

The duke of Bedford having, in 1424, beſieged in perſon the town of Yvry, in Normandy, during the ſpace of three months, the governor was obliged to capitulate, and agreed to ſurrender the town, if no relief arrived before a certain time. Charles was no ſooner informed of theſe conditions, than he reſolved to endeavour to ſave the place; and

having, with ſome difficulty, collected an army of 14,000 men, half of whom were Scots, he ſent them thither under the command of the conſtable, who was attended by his countryman, the earl of Douglas, the duke of Alençon, the marſhal de la Fayette, the count of Aumale, and the viſcount of Narbonne. When Buchan arrived within a few leagues of Yvry, finding that he was come too late, it having already ſurrendered, he inveſted Verneuil, which the inhabitants, in ſpite of the garriſon, delivered up to him. Buchan might have returned with the honour of having made an acquiſition of no leſs importance than the place he was ſent to relieve; but on hearing of the duke of Bedford's approach, he ſummoned a council, in which the wiſer part declared for a retreat, repreſenting, that every reaſon invited them to embrace the moſt cautious meaſures, and that this army, being the king's laſt reſource, and the only defence of the few provinces he now poſſeſſed, he ought to avoid giving battle, when not compelled by neceſſity. Theſe prudential conſiderations being, however, overborne by the vain point of honour, of not turning their backs on the enemy, they determined to wait the duke of Bedford's arrival.

In this battle, which was fought on the 27th of Auguſt, the numbers were nearly equal. The conſtable drew up his forces under the walls of Verneuil, and determined to wait for the attack of the enemy; but the viſcount of Narbonne was ſo impatient, that he broke his ranks,

ranks, and obliged the whole line to follow him in great diſorder. The Engliſh archers, according to their uſual cuſtom, fixed their palliſadoes before them, and then poured a ſhower of arrows on the thickeſt part of the French army. They were, however, driven from their ground, and forced to take ſhelter among the baggage; but ſoon rallied, and continued to do great execution. Mean while the duke of Bedford, at the head of the men at arms, furiouſly attacked the French and Scots; and having broke their ranks, chaced them off the field, and obtained a complete and deciſive victory. The earl of Buchan himſelf was ſlain, as well as the earl of Douglas and his ſon, the counts of Ventadour, and Tonnerre, with many others of the nobility; and among the priſoners were the duke of Alençon, the marſhal de la Fayette, the lords of Mortimer and Gancour. There fell about 4000 of the French and Scots, and 1600 of the Engliſh. The next day Verneuil ſurrendered by capitulation.

Charles's ſituation now appeared deſperate. The flower of his army, and the braveſt among his nobility, had fallen in this fatal action; and he had no reſource either for recruiting or ſubſiſting his troops. So great was his want of money, that though all the parade of a court was vaniſhed, he found it difficult to keep a table ſupplied with the plaineſt neceſſaries; every day brought him intelligence of ſome misfortune. His partizans were entirely chaced from all the provinces north of the Loire, and

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he apprehended, that the united efforts of his enemies would ſoon drive him out of all the territories he ſtill poſſeſſed: but when he was thus on the brink of ruin, he was ſaved by an accident, which deprived the Engliſh of this favourable opportunity of completing their conqueſts.

This misfortune was owing to Jaqueline, counteſs of Hainault and Holland, the heireſs of thoſe provinces, who had been prevailed on to marry John, duke of Brabant, couſin-german to the duke of Burgundy. She had an uncommon underſtanding; the duke was fickly, and of weak intellects: ſhe was in the vigour of her age, and he had only attained to his fifteenth year. From theſe courſes ſhe entertained a contempt for her huſband, and reſoved to diſſolve a marriage, in which probably nothing had paſſed but the ceremony. The court of Rome was uſually ready to comply with ſuch applications, when they were ſeconded by power and money; but the princeſs foreſeeing, that ſhe ſhould meet with great oppoſition from the relations of her huſband, eſcaped into England, and put herſelf under the duke of Glouceſter's protection. That prince, though poſſeſſed of many noble qualities, had the moſt impetuous paſſions; and the charms of the counteſs, with the proſpect of poſſeſſing her rich inheritance, induced him to offer himſelf to her as a huſband; and without waiting for a diſpenſation from the pope, or attempting to obtain the conſent of the duke of Burgundy, he married her, and inſtantly endea-

endeavoured to obtain the poſſeſſion of her dominions. Philip was offended at his precipitation, and at the injury done to his near relation, the duke of Brabant: he now imagined the ill conſequences that would iſſue from his having the Engliſh eſtabliſhed on all ſides of him, and thoſe which muſt attend the extenſive and uncontrouled dominion of a people, who, before the full ſettlement of their power, thus treated an ally to whom they were ſo much indebted; he therefore encouraged the duke of Brabant to make reſiſtance; and ſending him troops, a ſharp war was ſuddenly kindled in the Netherlands. This quarrel ſoon became perſonal. Glouceſter wrote to the duke of Burgundy, to complain of his oppoſing his pretenſions; and inſinuated, that he had not obſerved a ſtrict regard to truth in the courſe of theſe tranſactions. The duke of Burgundy highly reſenting this unguarded expreſſion, inſiſted that he ſhould retract it; and on this occaſion, mutual challenges and defiances paſſed between them.

The ill effects of this imprudent quarrel were ſoon perceived by the duke of Bedford. The ſuccours he expected to receive from England in this critical emergency, were employed by his brother in Holland and Hainault; and the duke of Burgundy's forces, on which he alſo depended, being employed in the ſame war, he was in imminent danger of loſing for ever that confederate, whoſe friendſhip was of the utmoſt importance, and whom the late king, with his dying breath, had enjoined him

him to treat with every mark of zeal and reſpect. He expoſtulated with the duke of Glouceſter: he ſtrove to appeaſe the duke of Burgundy's reſentment, and interpoſed his good offices between them, but without ſucceſs. The warmth of his brother's temper being the principal obſtacle, he was obliged, inſtead of puſhing the advantages he had obtained at Verneuil, to return to England, to endeavour to prevail on his brother to obſerve greater prudence and moderation.

Some differences had alſo ariſen among the Engliſh miniſtry, which required the regent's preſence to compoſe. The biſhop of Wincheſter, to whom had been entruſted the care of the king's perſon and education, was diſtinguiſhed by his capacity and experience; but being of an ambitious ſpirit, aſpired to the government of affairs, and had continual diſputes with his nephew, the protector, whoſe vehement and impolitic diſpoſition, gave him great advantages over him. In order to reconcile them, the duke of Bedford had recourſe to the authority of parliament, which obliged them mutually to promiſe to bury all their quarrels in oblivion. In a ſhort time, the duke of Burgundy procured a bull from the pope, which not only annulled the contract between Jaqueline and the duke of Glouceſter, but even declared, that though the duke of Brabant ſhould die, it ſhould never be lawful for her to marry him. Humphrey, duke of Glouceſter, upon this, married another lady of inferior rank; and ſoon after, the duke

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of Brabant dying, Jaqueline, before ſhe could obtain the poſſeſſion of her dominions, was obliged to declare the duke of Burgundy her heir, in caſe ſhe ſhould die without iſſue, and to promiſe never to marry without his conſent.

Though this affair was thus concluded to Philip's ſatisfaction, it left in his mind a jealouſy of the Engliſh; and about the ſame time his brother, the count of Richemont, though connected by marriage with the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy, willingly liſtened to all the advances made him by Charles, who offered him the office of conſtable, which was vacant by the death of the earl of Buchan; and he not only accepted that truſt, but brought over his brother, the duke of Britanny, to enter into an alliance with Charles, and ever after he adhered to his engagements with France.

The duke of Bedford, after paſſing eight months in England, found the affairs of France in this ſituation in 1426. The duke of Burgundy was greatly diſguſted: the duke of Britanny had done homage to Charles; and the French began to recover from the conſternation, into which they had been thrown by their frequent misfortunes; their courage being raiſed by an event which had juſt happened. Montargis had been beſieged and reduced to extremity by the earl of Warwick, with a ſmall army of 3000 men, when the baſtard of Orleans reſolved to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to relieve the town. This general, who was the natural ſon of the prince aſſaſſinated by the

the duke of Burgundy, and was afterwards created count of Dunois, conducted a body of 1600 men to Montargis, and attacked the enemy's trenches with ſuch prudence, bravery, and ſucceſs, that he not only entered the town, but obliged Warwick to raiſe the ſiege.

Soon after the duke of Bedford's arrival, he revived the reputation of the Engliſh arms, for having ſecretly aſſembled, in ſeparate detachments, a conſiderable army on the frontiers of Britanny, he, by his unexpected attack, obliged the duke, who was unable to reſiſt him, to renounce his alliance with Charles; to conſent to maintain the treaty of Troye; to acknowledge the duke of Bedford regent of France; and to promiſe to do homage to king Henry for his dutchy.

Bedford had no ſooner thus happily freed himſelf from a dangerous enemy who lay behind him, than he reſolved to engage in an undertaking, which he flattered himſelf would prepare the way for the complete conqueſt of France. The city of Orleans being ſeated between the provinces ſubject to the Engliſh and thoſe in Charles's poſſeſſion, opened an entrance to both; and as he intended to make a grand effort to penetrate into the ſouth of France, it was neceſſary to begin with this city. This enterprize he committed to the earl of Saliſbury, who, during the courſe of the preſent war, had greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his abilities, and had juſt arrived from England with a reinforcement of 6000 men. That general having paſſed the Loire, took ſeveral

veral ſmall places which ſurrounded Orleans; on which Charles being alarmed, took effectual means to ſupply that city with a garriſon and proviſions, that it might maintain a long and obſtinate ſiege. The lord of Gancour, a valiant officer of great experience, was appointed governor: many perſons of diſtinction, at the head of troops that were determined to make a moſt reſolute reſiſtance, threw themſelves into the city, and the inhabitants reſolved to ſecond them. At laſt the earl of Saliſbury approached Orleans with 10,000 men, which not being ſufficient to inveſt ſo large a city, he took his ſtation on the ſouthern ſide, leaving the other open to the enemy. After an obſtinate reſiſtance, he took ſeveral of the fortifications that guarded the entrance of the bridge; but while he was taking a view of the enemy, he was killed by a cannon-ball. The earl of Suffolk ſucceeded to the command; and being reinforced with a conſiderable body of Engliſh and Burgundians, paſſed the river, and inveſted the city on the other ſide. It being now the depth of winter, and difficult to throw up intrenchments, he ſatisfied himſelf with erecting redoubts at proper diſtances, in which his men were ſafely lodged, and were ready to intercept ſuch ſupplies as might be attempted to be thrown into the place. Though the earl had ſeveral pieces of artillery in his camp, the art of engineering was yet ſo imperfect, that he had greater hopes of ſubduing the city by famine than by force; and therefore propoſed to complete the circumvallation

in the ſpring, by drawing intrenchments from one redoubt to another. During the winter, both the beſiegers and the beſieged performed numberleſs feats of valour: vigorous ſallies were made, and repulſed with equal vigour; but as the convoys were frequently intercepted, the ſupplies did not equal what was conſumed by the inhabitants; and the Engliſh appeared to be daily advancing towards the poſſeſſion of the city.

Mean while all the country round being ravaged by French parties, the beſiegers themſelves were expoſed to the danger of famine. In 1429, Sir John Faſtolfe was conducting a large convoy of all kinds of ſtores, eſcorted by a detachment of 2500 men, when he was attacked by the counts of Dunois and Clermont, at the head of 4000 French. Faſtolfe drew up his troops behind the waggons, where the French generals being afraid of attacking him, raiſed againſt him a battery of cannon, which throwing every thing into confuſion, ſome Scotch troops broke the line of battle, and ruſhing on the Engliſh, an engagement enſued, wherein Faſtolfe obtained the victory, in which the count of Dunois was wounded, and about 500 French left dead on the field of battle. This action, which at that time was of great importance, was commonly termed the battle of Herrings, a great quantity of that kind of proviſions being brought by the convoy for the uſe of the Engliſh army during the ſeaſon of Lent.

Charles

Charles was extremely dejected on receiving the news of this defeat, and ſeemed to have but one expedient left for ſaving the city. The duke of Orleans, who was ſtill a priſoner in England, by his directions, prevailed on the protector and council to conſent, that all his eſtates ſhould, during the war, be allowed to preſerve a neutrality; and for greater ſecurity, be ſequeſtered into the hands of the duke of Burgundy, who, upon this, went to Paris, and made the propoſal to the duke of Bedford; but this prince coldly replied, that he was not of a humour to beat the buſhes, while others ran away with the game; at which the duke of Burgundy was ſo offended, that he recalled all his troops that aſſiſted in the ſiege. The Engliſh, however, inveſted the place more cloſely every day, and the garriſon and inhabitants began to feel grea ſcarcity of proviſions. Charles now giving up the city for loſt, entertained a diſmal proſpect, with reſpect to the general ſtate of his affairs; and had already thoughts of retiring with the few remains of his forces into Languedoc and Dauphiny, in order to defend himſelf in thoſe remote provinces as long as poſſible. But as he lay under the dominion of the fair, they had the reſolution to ſupport his ſinking ſpirits. This meaſure was warmly oppoſ d by Mary of Anjou, his queen, who alledged, that it would diſcourage all his partizans, and induce them to deſert a prince who appeared to deſpair of ſucceſs. Even Agnes Sorel, his miſtreſs, who lived on good terms with the queen, not only

ſeconded all her remonſtrances, but threatened, that if he thus cowardly threw away the ſceptre of France, ſhe would ſeek a fortune more agreeable to her wiſhes in the court of England. Charles's courage being thus rouſed, he reſolved to diſpute every inch of ground, rather than ſhamefully yield to his ill fortune. This reſolution was followed by his unexpectedly receiving relief from another female, who ſaved him, and produced an amazing revolution in his affairs.

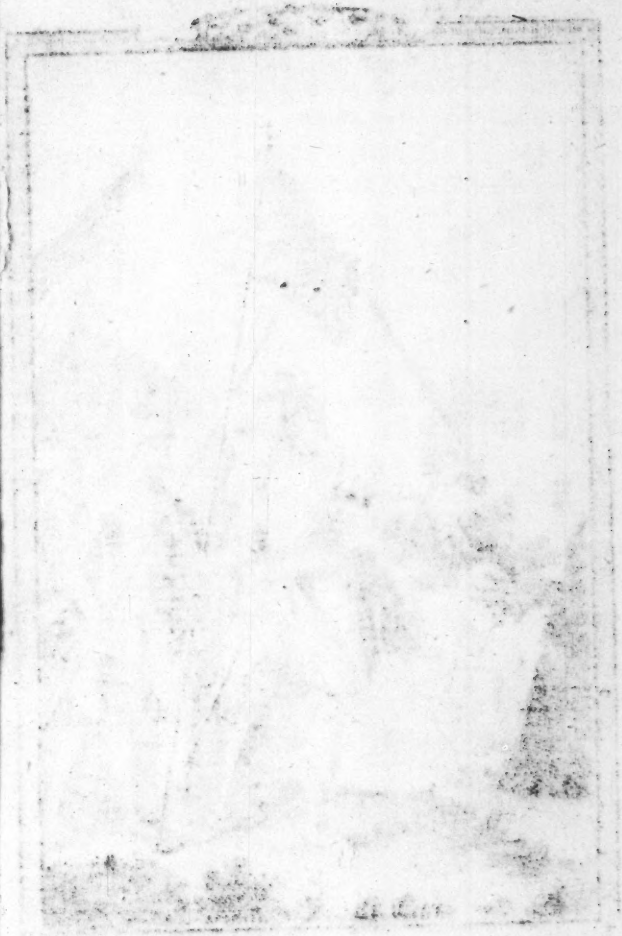
In the village of Dompre, on the borders of Lorraine, lived a country woman, who was then about twenty-nine years old, called Joan of Arc; ſhe had been ſervant at an inn, and accuſtomed to ride the horſes to water without a ſaddle, and to perform all the low offices that are commonly performed by the men ſervants. She had been irreproachable in her conduct, and had not diſtinguiſhed herſelf by any thing extraordinary in her behaviour, ſhe having hitherto met with no opportunity of diſcovering her genius and abilities. It is not difficult to conceive, that people of the loweſt rank were intereſted in the preſent ſituation of France, and that a young prince, driven from his throne by his native ſubjects, and the force of foreign armies, excited the compaſſion of the people, and that the ſiege of Orleans, the diſtreſs of the garriſon and inhabitants, with the danger of that city's being taken by the Engliſh, had attracted the public eye: hence Joan was ſeized with a wild deſire to relieve her ſovereign in his preſent diſtreſs. Her mind being

being agitated day and night with this thought, ſhe probably miſtook the rovings of her own imagination for the inſpirations of heaven, and believed ſhe beheld viſions and heard voices exhorting her to replace Charles on the throne of France, and to expel the invaders. Her natural intrepidity made her diſregard the dangers of ſuch an attempt; and imagining that heaven had deſtined her to perform this great work, ſhe threw off the baſhfulneſs natural to her ſex and years. Joan being thus filled with enthuſiaſm, went to Vaucouleurs, and having got admiſſion to Baudricourt, the governor, acquainted him with her inſpirations, and exhorted him to comply with the voice of God, and ſecond the heavenly revelations, which impelled her to engage in this glorious enterprize. The governor at firſt paid little regard to what ſhe ſaid; but on her frequently returning to him, and renewing her importunate ſolicitations, he found ſomething extraordinary in her, and reſolving to make ſo eaſy an experiment, gave her ſome attendants, by whom ſhe was conducted to the French court, which then reſided at Chinon.

It is pretended, that Joan was no ſooner admitted to the king than ſhe knew him, though ſhe had never ſeen him before, and now purpoſely concealed himſelf in the croud of courtiers, having laid aſide every thing in his dreſs by which he might be diſtinguiſhed: that ſhe offered him, in the name of the ſupreme Being, to raiſe the ſiege of Orleans, and to conduct him to Rheims, to be anointed and crown-

ed there; and on his expreſſing ſome doubts of her being ſent by heaven, revealed to him a ſecret unknown to all the world beſides himſelf; and that ſhe deſired a particular ſword kept in St. Catharine's church at Fierbois, which, though ſhe had never ſeen, ſhe exactly deſcribed, as well as the place in which it had lain long neglected. Theſe pretended miraculous ſtories were inſtantly ſpread abroad, in order to captivate the vulgar. Though Charles and his miniſters were reſolved to countenance the illuſion, they pretended ſcruples, and cauſed to be aſſembled a body of grave doctors and divines, who, after examining Joan's miſſion, declared, that ſhe was ſent by heaven. She was then conducted to the parliament, which reſided at Poictiers, and being examined before that aſſembly, the preſident and counſellors became convinced of her inſpirations. The deſpair in which the minds of the people were before involved, was now diſpelled by a ray of hope; and they imagined, that heaven had declared in favour of France, and would take vengeance on its invaders.

After theſe artful preparations, Joan, at her own requeſt, was cloathed in armour, and being mounted on horſe-back, appeared in that martial dreſs in public. Her dexterity in managing a horſe, which ſhe had acquired when at the inn, was conſidered as a freſh proof of her divine miſſion, and ſhe met with the loudeſt acclamations from the ſpectators. Her former employment was denied. She was no longer believed to have ſerved the office of an hoſtler,



Joan of Arc heading the French Troops to relieve the City of Orleans.

hoſtler, but was converted into a ſhepherdeſs, as more agreeable to the romantic imaginations of the people; and to render every thing ſtill more extraordinary, ſhe was ſuppoſed to be near ten years younger than ſhe really was. Thus every method was taken to inflame the minds of the multitude, and to influence them to ſecond all her attempts.

The heroine was then ſent to Blois, where a conſiderable convoy was prepared for the ſupply of the city of Orleans, to be eſcorted by 10,000 men, commanded by St. Severe. She ordered, that all the ſoldiers, before they ſet out, ſhould confeſs to their prieſts: ſhe baniſhed all women of bad fame from the camp: ſhe held in her hand a conſecrated banner, in which was repreſented the ſupreme Being, holding the earth in his hand, which was ſurrounded with flower-de-luces; and inſiſted, that the convoy ſhould enter Orleans by the direct road from Beauſſe: but the count of Dunois cauſed it to approach by the other ſide, where he was ſenſible, that the weakeſt part of the Engliſh army was ſtationed.

Joan of Arc had, before this attempt, written to the regent and the Engliſh generals before Orleans, ordering them, in the name of the Almighty, by whom ſhe was commiſſioned, inſtantly to raiſe the ſiege, and to leave France, on pain of ſuffering the Divine vengeance for their diſobedience. The Engliſh affected to ridicule the maid and her divine commiſſion, obſerving, that the French king, by having recourſe to ſuch a ridiculous expedient, muſt be

be reduced to a wretched paſs; yet they felt their imaginations ſecretly ſtruck; and waited with ſome anxiety and terror for the iſſue.

The convoy approached the river on the 29th of April, 1429, when the garriſon made a ſally on the ſide of Beauſſe, to prevent the Engliſh ſending any detachment to the other ſide: on which the proviſions were quietly put into boats, which the inhabitants had ſent to receive them, Joan covering the embarkation with her troops. After which the French general marched back in ſafety to Blois. Joan having entered the city in her military garb, diſplaying her conſecrated ſtandard, was received by all the inhabitants as their celeſtial deliverer. They were now firmly perſuaded, that under her influence they ſhould be invincible; and Dunois perceiving the extraordinary effect ſhe had produced in the minds both of his friends and enemies, conſented, that the next convoy ſhould enter by the ſide of Beauſſe. That convoy approached on the 4th of May, when the waggons and troops paſſed between the redoubts of the Engliſh without interruption, while thoſe troops that were formerly ſo elated with victory, remained in ſilent aſtoniſhment.

The earl of Suffolk was in a very extraordinary ſituation, ſufficient to confound the greateſt capacity. He perceived that his troops were over-awed by the idea of Joan's being accompanied by a divine power; and inſtead of expelling theſe terrors by the hurry of war, he imprudently waited for the ſoldiers recover-

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ing from their pannic, and thus allowed theſe prepoſſeſſions to ſink ſtill deeper into their minds. The Engliſh finding that their courage failed, imagined, that the vengeance of heaven hung over them; and their inactivity, which was ſo new and unexpected, made the French think ſo too. The maid now exhorted the garriſon to continue no longer on the defenſive; and promiſed, that all thoſe ſhould have the aſſiſtance of heaven, who attacked the formidable redoubts, by which they had ſo long been kept in awe. Her ardour was ſeconded by the generals. One redoubt was attacked with ſucceſs, and all the Engliſh who defended the intrenchments were either put to the ſword or taken priſoners: Sir John Talbot himſelf, who had drawn together ſome troops from the other redoubts, not daring to appear againſt ſo formidable an enemy in the open field.

Animated by this ſucceſs, nothing ſeemed impoſſible to Joan and her enthuſiaſtic followers. She endeavoured to perſuade the generals to attack the main body of the Engliſh in their intrenchments: but Dunois being unwilling, by too great a temerity, to hazard the fate of France; and ſenſible, that on the leaſt reverſe of fortune, all this enthuſiaſm would evaporate, he checked her vehemence, and firſt propoſed, before ſhe attempted any other hazardous enterprize, to drive the enemy from their forts on the other ſide of the river, and thus open a communication with the country. Joan ſuffered herſelf to be perſuaded; and theſe forts

forts were vigorouſly aſſailed. However, in one attack, the French were repulſed, and the maid being left alone, was obliged to retreat and join the run-aways; but ſuddenly diſplaying her ſacred ſtandard, and animating them with her countenance, her exhortations and geſtures, ſhe led them back to the charge, and beat the Engliſh out of their intrenchments. While ſhe was attacking another fort, ſhe was wounded in the neck with an arrow, on which ſhe retreated for a moment behind her companions, pulled out the arrow with her own hands; and having had the wound quickly dreſſed, haſted back to head the troops, and to plant her victorious banner on the enemy's ramparts.

Thus the Engliſh were driven from all their fortifications on that ſide, after having loſt in theſe different actions above 6000 men; and what was ſtill of greater importance, their former courage and confidence being entirely vaniſhed, was ſucceeded by amazement and deſpair. Joan returned over the bridge in triumph, and was again received by the citizens as their guardian angel. They imagined themſelves animated by a ſuperior power; and being firmly convinced of her divine miſſion, thought nothing impoſſible to the divine hand, by which they were ſo viſibly conducted. In vain did the Engliſh generals endeavour to root out of the minds of their ſoldiers the prevailing opinion, that they were oppoſed by ſupernatural powers: they were probably of the ſame opinion, and only dared to maintain,

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that Joan was not inſpired by God, but by the Devil: but the Engliſh having found, from ſad experience, that the Devil might be ſometimes allowed to prevail, they did not reap much comfort from their urging this opinion.

As it might prove extremely dangerous to remain any longer with ſuch intimidated troops in the preſence of ſo bold and daring an enemy, Suffolk reſolved to raiſe the ſiege; and on the 8th of May, retreated with all imaginable precaution. The French now reſolved to allow them no leiſure to recover from their conſternation. Charles raiſed a body of 6000 men, which he ſent to inveſt Gergeau, in which Suffolk had ſhut himſelf up with a part of his army. The place was obſtinately defended during a ſiege of ten days. Joan behaved with her uſual intrepidity; and in leading the attack, deſcended into the foſſee, where ſhe was ſtruck on the head with a ſtone, which knocked her down; but ſoon recovering herſelf, ſhe continuing the aſſault with ſucceſs. Suffolk was forced to ſurrender himſelf priſoner to Renaud, a Frenchman; but before he ſubmitted, aſked if he was a gentleman; on being anſwered that he was, he demanded whether he was a knight; Renaud replied, that he had not yet attained that honour. "Then I'll make you one," replied Suffolk; and giving him the blow with his ſword, which dubbed him into that honourable fraternity, inſtantly ſurrendered himſelf.

The reſt of the Engliſh army under the command of Talbot, Faſtolfe, and Scales, only

only thought of retreating as ſoon as poſſible into a place of ſafety; while the French imagined, that their overtaking them was equal to a victory. The van-guard of the French, commanded by Richemont and Xaintrailles, fell upon the rear of the Engliſh, at the village of Petay, on the 18th of June; on which the Engliſh were inſtantly defeated, and fled: Faſtolfe himſelf ſhewing the example of flight to his troops, on which he was puniſhed for this inſtance of cowardice, by being degraded from the order of the garter. In this action both Talbot and Scales were taken priſoners, and 2000 men ſlain.

The French writers repreſent Joan, who was now called the maid of Orleans, as not only behaving with great courage and activity in battle, but as exerciſing the office of general, conducting all the military operations, and influencing their deliberations in all the councils of war. This appearance the policy of the French court endeavoured to maintain: but there is much greater probability, that ſhe was prompted in all her meaſures by Dunois, and the other commanders. It is ſufficient praiſe, that ſhe was able to diſtinguiſh the perſons on whoſe judgment ſhe might depend; ſeize their hints; ſuddenly deliver their opinion as her own; and on occaſion, temper with prudence and diſcretion, the enthuſiaſtic ſpirit with which ſhe was actuated.

As one part of the promiſe ſhe had made to Charles was, that ſhe would raiſe the ſiege of Orleans; and the other was, his being crown-

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ed at Rheims, ſhe now warmly inſiſted, that he ſhould immediately ſet out on that enterprize. Such a propoſal a few weeks before would have appeared the moſt abſurd and extravagant. Rheims was ſeated in a diſtant part of the kingdom, and was then in the hands of a victorious enemy; the road all the way to it was poſſeſſed by their garriſons; and it was impoſſible, that the moſt ſanguine mind could think of its being ſo ſoon in their power to make the attempt. Charles, however, knew that it was neceſſary for him to maintain the opinion, that in all theſe events, there was ſomething miraculous and divine, and to take advantage of the preſent conſternation of his enemies: he therefore reſolved to follow her exhortations.

As the ſafety of the ſtate entirely depended upon his ſafety, he had been hitherto induced to reſtrain his military ardour; but he now reſolved to appear at the head of his army, and to diſplay before his ſoldiers an example of valour. Charles marched from Rheims at the head of 12,000 men: Troye and Chalons opened their gates to him; and before his approach to Rheims, that city ſent him a deputation with its keys. His coronation was performed there on the 17th of July; and it was pretended, that he was anointed with the holy oil, which a pigeon had brought from heaven to king Clovis on the firſt eſtabliſhment of the French monarchy: the maid of Orleans in complete armour ſtood by his ſide, diſplaying her ſacred banner, which had ſo often con-

founded her enemies, and after the completion of the ceremony, threw herſelf at his feet, embraced his knees; and with a flood of tears, congratulated him on this wonderful event. Charles, on being thus crowned and anointed, became the object of admiration to all his ſubjects, and ſeemed to derive, from a heavenly commiſſion, his title to their allegiance. The belief of men being ſwayed by their inclinations, no one preſumed to doubt the inſpirations of the heroic maid; and ſo many real and undoubted incidents which paſſed all human comprehenſion, gave credit to every exaggeration. Laon, Chateau Thierri, Soiſſons, with many other towns and fortreſſes in that neighbourhood, immediately ſubmitted to Charles on the firſt ſummons after his coronation; and the whole nation ſeemed diſpoſed to follow their example.

The duke of Bedford being able to preſerve ſome footing in France in ſo dangerous a ſituation, is an evident proof of his being poſſeſſed of the greateſt wiſdom and reſolution. By his vigilance and foreſight, he ſeemed every where preſent; he employed all the reſources in his power; put all the Engliſh garriſons in a poſture of defence, and retained the Pariſians in obedience, by his alternately making uſe of careſſes and ſeverity. As he knew that the duke of Burgundy was wavering in his fidelity, he behaved with ſuch ſkill in this dangerous criſis, as to renew his alliance with that prince. On the other hand, as the ardour of the Engliſh for foreign conqueſts was now abated,

abated, the regent could obtain no ſupply of money from the parliament during his greateſt diſtreſſes. Men enliſted ſlowly under his ſtandard, on account of the wonderful ſtories brought to England of the magic, ſorcery, and diabolical power of the maid of Orleans. In this emergency, the biſhop of Wincheſter, now created a cardinal, fortunately landed at Calais with 5000 men, with whom he intended to go on a cruſade againſt the Huſſites in Bohemia; but being perſuaded to lend theſe troops to his nephew, he was enabled to oppoſe the king of France, who was marching towards Paris.

The duke of Bedford now attempted to reſtore the courage of the Engliſh, by boldly advancing to the face of the enemy; yet choſe his poſts with ſuch caution, as conſtantly to decline a battle. He attended Charles in all his motions; covered his own towns and garriſons; and was conſtantly ready to take advantage of every falſe ſtep of the enemy. Soon after the French army, which was chiefly compoſed of volunteers, diſbanded, and Charles went to Bourges, where he uſually reſided, after having made himſelf maſter of many places in the neighbourhood of Paris, which the inhabitants delivered up to him.

The regent now ſtrove to revive the declining ſtate of his affairs in France, by bringing over the young king of England, and cauſing him to be crowned at Paris, as king of France, which was done with the greateſt ſolemnity. The vaſſals of the crown, within the pro-

vinces in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, again ſwore allegiance to him, and paid him homage. But this ceremony had none of that luſtre which had attended Charles's coronation at Rheims.

After the coronation of Charles, the maid of Orleans told the count of Dunois, that her wiſhes being now gratified, ſhe only deſired to return to her former condition, and to the employments ſuitable to her ſex: but he being ſenſible, that her preſence in the army might ſtill be attended with many advantages, he exhorted her to ſtay till the Engliſh were expelled, and all her prophecies accompliſhed. She conſented, and threw herſelf into the town of Compiegne, which was then beſieged by the duke of Burgundy, with the earls of Arundel and Suffolk. At her appearance, the garriſon thought themſelves invincible; but their joy was of ſhort continuance: the day after her arrival, ſhe headed a ſally upon the quarters of John of Luxemburg, and twice drove the enemy from their intrenchments. However, finding that their numbers increaſed every moment, ſhe ordered a retreat: being hard preſſed by the purſuers, ſhe turned upon them, and again drove them back; but being at this inſtant deſerted by her friends, and encompaſſed by the enemy, ſhe was at laſt, after exerting the utmoſt bravery, taken priſoner by the Burgundians. It was then the common opinion, that the French officers, obſerving that the merit of every victory was aſcribed to her, had, from envy of her fame, which eclipſed

eclipſed theirs, purpoſely expoſed her to this misfortune.

The Engliſh and their party would have received leſs joy in obtaining a complete victory, than they did in getting her into their poſſeſſion, and *Te Deum* was ſung at Paris on this occaſion. The duke of Bedford imagined, that on the captivity of this extraordinary woman, he ſhould recover his advantages over France, and immediately purchaſed her of John of Luxemburg.

The maid of Orleans had a juſt right to be conſidered as a priſoner of war, and to be treated with the utmoſt courteſy, as ſhe had never forfeited her claim to that treatment by any cruel or treacherous action: ſhe had even rigidly obſerved the virtues and decorums of her ſex; and her appearing in war, and conducting armies to battle, though it may appear an exception, was of ſuch extraordinary ſervice to her prince, as rendered her an object of praiſe and admiration. Hence the regent reſolved to cover his violation of juſtice and humanity, in the proſecution of this brave heroine, by intereſting religion in the affair.

The biſhop of Beauvais, who was entirely devoted to the Engliſh, preſented a petition againſt her, under the pretence of her being taken within his dioceſe, in order to have her tried by an eccleſiaſtical court, for magic, ſorcery, and impiety: the univerſity at Paris joined in the ſame requeſt; and ſeveral prelates, among whom the only Engliſhman was

the cardinal of Wincheſter, were appointed her judges. Their court was held at Rouen, which was then the reſidence of the young king of England; and before this tribunal the maid was produced in her military apparel, but loaded with irons.

Joan firſt deſired, that ſhe might be eaſed of her chains: but her judges anſwered, that ſhe had once already attempted to throw herſelf from a tower. This ſhe confeſſed, and owned, that if ſhe was able, ſhe would do it ſtill: in all her ſpeeches, ſhe ſhewed the utmoſt firmneſs and intrepidity: though teazed with queſtions for almoſt four months together, ſhe never betrayed the leaſt weakneſs, nor was any advantage gained over her. The point puſhed by her judges with the greateſt violence, was her viſions and revelations; and ſhe was aſked, whether ſhe would ſubmit the truth of theſe inſpirations to the deciſion of the church. She replied, that ſhe was ready to ſubmit them to God, the fountain of truth. Upon this they exclaimed, that ſhe denied the authority of the church, and was a heretic. She then appealed to the pope; but that appeal was rejected. They enquired, why ſhe put her truſt in a ſtandard conſecrated by magical incantations? She anſwered, that ſhe put her truſt in God alone, whoſe image it bore. They demanded, why ſhe held in her hand that ſtandard at the coronation of Charles at Rheims? She replied, that the perſon who had ſhared the danger, was entitled to ſhare the glory. On her being accuſed of going to war

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contrary to the decorums of her ſex, ſhe made no ſcruple of aſſerting, that her only deſign was to defeat the Engliſh, and drive them out of the kingdom. At length ſhe was condemned, as being guilty of all the crimes of which ſhe had been accuſed, with the aggravation of hereſy; her revelations were declared inventions of the devil to delude the people; and ſhe was ſentenced to be delivered over to be puniſhed by the ſecular arm.

This unhappy heroine, for ſo long a time encompaſſed by inveterate enemies who treated her with contumacy, brow-beaten by men of ſuperior rank, and by thoſe inveſted with the ſacred character whom ſhe had ever honoured, at laſt felt her ſpirits ſubdued; and the viſionary dreams of inſpiration gave way to the terrors of the puniſhment ſhe was ſentenced to ſuffer. She therefore publickly declared her willingneſs to recant; acknowledged the illuſion of the revelations rejected by the church; and promiſed never more to maintain them. Upon this her ſentence was mitigated to perpetual impriſonment, and her being fed on bread and water during life. But the barbarous vengeance of her enemies diſſatisfied with this victory, though it was ſufficient to anſwer all their political views, reſolved on her death. She had conſented to wear a female dreſs; but ſuſpecting that it was diſagreeable to her, they placed a ſuit of men's apparel in her apartment, and watched the effect it would produce. On the ſight of a dreſs in which ſhe had acquired ſuch fame, and which ſhe once imagined

imagined ſhe put on by the appointment of heaven, all her former ideas revived; and ſhe ventured, while alone, again to put on the forbidden garment. She was caught by her inſidious enemies in that ſituation, and this was termed a relapſe into hereſy. No recantation was now ſufficient, and no pardon could be granted. She was condemned to be burned alive in the market-place of Rouen; and the cruel ſentence was accordingly executed on the 14th of June, 1431.

So far were the affairs of the Engliſh from being promoted by this barbarous execution, that they every day grew worſe. Chartres was ſurprized by a ſtratagem of the count of Dunois: lord Willoughby, who commanded a body of the Engliſh, was defeated at St. Celerin: the fair in the ſuburbs of Caen, though ſeated in the midſt of the territories belonging to the Engliſh, was pillaged by de Lore, a French officer, who carried away 2000 perſons with a very great booty; and Dunois obliged the duke of Bedford himſelf to raiſe the ſiege of Lagni. Though theſe misfortunes were trivial, yet being continued, brought diſcredit on the Engliſh. But the chief loſs ſuſtained by the regent, was the death of his dutcheſs, who had preſerved ſome appearance of friendſhip between him and the duke of Burgundy, her brother; and his ſoon after marrying Jaqueline of Luxemburg, occaſioned a breach between them. Philip was diſpleaſed at the regent's not informing him of his intentions, and thought his ſudden marriage a ſlight on his

his ſiſter's memory. A reconciliation between them was mediated by the cardinal of Wincheſter, who, for that purpoſe, brought them both to St. Omers. The duke of Bedford, as he was the ſon, brother, and uncle to a king, and had already made ſuch advances, as to come for an interview into the duke's territories, expected the firſt viſit: but Philip, proud of his power and independence, refuſed to pay the regent this compliment; on which, being unable to adjuſt the ceremonials, they left the town without ſeeing each other.

The duke of Burgundy had, for ſome years, appeared gradually to loſe his animoſity againſt Charles, and to liſten to the apologies made by that prince for the murther of his father. The king's extreme youth was pleaded; his incapacity to judge for himſelf; the aſcendant his miniſters gained over him; and his inability to reſent an action which had been perpetrated without his conſent. To gratify the pride of the duke of Burgundy, the king had baniſhed Tanegui de Chatel, and all concerned in that aſſaſſination, from his court; and had offered to make every other atonement that could be required. The duke's revenge had been in a great meaſure gratified, by the diſtreſs Charles had already ſuffered; and he began to feel compaſſion for the miſeries to which France had been ſo long expoſed. While the duke of Burgundy was in this diſpoſition, every diſguſt he received from the Engliſh made a double impreſſion upon his mind. He liſtened with greater attention to the entreaties

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of the duke of Bourbon and the count of Richemont; and at laſt determined to unite with the royal family of France, from which his own was deſcended. A congreſs was therefore appointed at Arras for this purpoſe, under the mediation of deputies from the pope, to which the duke of Burgundy came in perſon. The duke of Bourbon, the count of Richemont, and ſome others of the great nobility, came as ambaſſadors from France; and the Engliſh being alſo invited to attend, the cardinal of Wincheſter, the archbiſhop of York and others, came for that purpoſe. The conferences, which were held in the abbey of St. Vaaſt, in Auguſt 1435, began with diſcuſſing the propoſals made by the two crowns, which were ſo different, as to admit of no hopes of an accommodation. England required, that each of the parties ſhould remain in the poſſeſſion of what they at preſent enjoyed, after making ſome equitable exchanges for their mutual convenience; and on the other hand, France offered to cede Normandy and Guienne, with the uſual homage and vaſſalage to the French crown. The mediators declared Charles's offers very reaſonable, on which the Engliſh ambaſſadors left the congreſs. The mutual pretenſions of Charles and Philip were then adjuſted. Charles, beſides making repeated atonements and acknowledgments for the duke of Burgundy's murder, agreed to cede all the towns of Picardy, between the Somme and the Netherlands, with ſeveral other territories; and that the duke of

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Burgundy ſhould hold theſe, and all his other dominions during life, without doing homage or ſwearing fealty to the French king.

Theſe conferences being thus concluded, the duke of Burgundy ſent a herald with a letter to England, to make known the concluſion of the above treaty, and to apologize for his departure from that of Troye. The herald was received by the council with great coldneſs; and by way of inſult, they aſſigned him his lodgings in a ſhoe-maker's houſe. The populace were ſo enraged, that the duke of Glouceſter was obliged to give the herald guards, to prevent the danger of his being killed on his appearing in the ſtreets: the ſubjects of Philip, particularly the Flemings, were inſulted, and ſome of them murdered by the Londoners; and every thing ſeemed to threaten a rupture between the two nations.

The duke of Bedford died at Rouen, a few days after he received intelligence of this treaty. He was a prince diſtinguiſhed by his many virtues and great abilities; and his memory was unſullied, except by the barbarous execution of the maid of Orleans. About the ſame time alſo died the earl of Arundel, a great general; who, notwithſtanding he had 3000 men under his command, was defeated by Xaintrailles, who had only 600; and ſoon after expired of the wounds he received in that battle.

In 1436 the violent factions in the court of England, between the duke of Glouceſter and the cardinal of Wincheſter, threw every thing into confuſion, and prevented the reparation

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of theſe numerous loſſes. In this conteſt the duke's popularity, and his being nearly related to the king, gave him advantages, which he often loſt by his open unguarded temper, and rendered him unfit to contend with his politic rival. Hence the affairs of France were much neglected; and though the duke of York was appointed to ſucceed Bedford, it was ſeven months before his commiſſion paſſed the ſeals: ſo long did the Engliſh remain in an enemy's country without a governor.

The duke of York found, on his arrival, the capital loſt. The Pariſians, who had been always more attached to the Burgundians than to the Engliſh, after the concluſion of the treaty of Arras, returned to their allegiance, to their native ſovereign. The conſtable, with Lile-Adam, who had before put Paris into the duke of Burgundy's hands, was introduced by the citizens, and lord Willoughby, who commanded the garriſon, which conſiſted only of 1500 men, after diſcovering great valour and preſence of mind, was obliged to retire into the Baſtile; which being inveſted, he was contented with ſtipulating for the ſafe retreat of his troops into Normandy, and delivered up that fortreſs.

At the ſame time the duke of Burgundy openly commenced hoſtilities againſt England, by the ſiege of Calais, with an army formidable for its numbers, but undiſciplined, and without experience. The duke of Glouceſter immediately aſſembled ſome forces, and ſent a challenge to Philip, to wait the event of a battle,

battle, which he promiſed to give as ſoon as he could reach Paris. But Burgundy being already worſted in ſome attempts before that city, and perceiving that his army was afraid of the warlike genius of the Engliſh, he raiſed the ſiege before his enemy's arrival.

Though the Engliſh ſtill poſſeſſed many fine provinces in France, it proceeded more from Charles's weakneſs than from the ſtrength of their garriſons. Scarcely could either ſide bring the appearance of an army into the field. The war ſolely conſiſted in the ſurprizal of places; the rencounter of detached places, and in ravaging the open country by ſmall bodies, ſuddenly aſſembled from the neighbouring garriſons. The French king had much the advantage in this method of conducting the war, intelligence being early brought him of the ſtate and motions of the enemy, and the inhabitants were ready to aſſiſt in any attempts againſt the Engliſh garriſons. The great abilities of the duke of York, enabled him to ſtruggle againſt every difficulty during five years; and by the aſſiſtance of the diſtinguiſhed bravery of the lord Talbot, who was created earl of Shrewſbury, he performed actions by which he acquired great honour. Happy would it have been for the people, had this feeble war prevented other oppreſſions: but the forces of the French and Engliſh being deſtitute of pay, were forced to ſubſiſt by plunder, and the oppreſſion both of their friends and enemies. The fields in all the north of France, the principal ſeat of the war, were

laid waſte and left uncultivated, and the cities gradually depopulated.

In 1440 both parties being weary of hoſtilities, which produced nothing, ſet on foot negociations of peace; but the propoſals of England and France were ſtill ſo wide of each other, that the hopes of an accommodation inſtantly vaniſhed. The Engliſh ambaſſadors inſiſted on the reſtitution of all the provinces formerly annexed to England, with the ceſſion of Calais and its diſtrict, without the burthen of any fealty or homage; while the French only offered part of Guienne and Calais, loaded with the uſual burthens. Thus while there was ſo little proſpect of agreement, it appeared vain to continue the negociations.

Soon after the duke of York reſigned his government to the earl of Warwick; but death preventing that nobleman from long enjoying that dignity; the duke, upon his deceaſe, reſumed the government; and during his adminiſtration, a truce was concluded between the king of England and the duke of Burgundy, which the commercial intereſt of their ſubjects rendered neceſſary. But the war with France was carried on with the ſame languor as before.

The captivity of the five princes of the blood taken at the battle of Agincourt, had been for a long time of conſiderable advantage to England, but this was now loſt. Some of them had died, others had been ranſomed; and the duke of Orleans, the moſt powerful of them all, was the only one that now remained in the hands of the Engliſh. This

prince

prince offered for his liberty 54,000 nobles, equal to 36,000 l. of our preſent money. The duke of Glouceſter's party, and that of the cardinal of Wincheſter, were here divided in their ſentiments. The duke reminded the council of the late king's dying advice, that none of theſe priſoners ſhould be releaſed till his ſon ſhould be capable of holding the reins of government. The cardinal inſiſted on the largeneſs of the ſum, which was, indeed, nearly equal to two-thirds of all the extraordinary ſupplies annually granted by parliament for the ſupport of the war, during the courſe of ſeven years; and added, that his releaſe was more likely to be advantageous than prejudicial to England, by filling the court of France with faction. The cardinal's party prevailing, the duke of Orleans was releaſed, after a captivity of twenty-five years.

Some time after, the cardinal prevailed over the duke of Glouceſter, in procuring a truce with France; for which purpoſe he ſent over the earl of Suffolk to Tours, who finding it impoſſible to ſettle the terms of a laſting peace, concluded a truce for twenty-two months, which left every thing between the parties on the preſent footing; and this truce was afterwards prolonged. Suffolk, not ſatisfied with executing his commiſſion, proceeded alſo to conclude another affair of great importance.

As Henry advanced in years, his character became fully known: he was harmleſs, inoffenſive; and from the ſoftneſs of his temper, and the weakneſs of his abilities, it was fore-

ſeen, that his reign would prove a perpetual minority. He had now entered into the 23d year of his age, and each party was ambitious of chuſing him a queen. The duke of Glouceſter propoſed the daughter of the count of Armagnac, and the cardinal and his friends, fixed their choice on Margaret of Anjou, the daughter of Regnier, titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jeruſalem, who was eſteemed the moſt accompliſhed princeſſes, both in body and mind, of her age; and ſeemed not only qualified to acquire the aſcendant over Henry, but to ſupply all his defects. She was of a courageous enterprizing ſpirit, poſſeſſed of ſolidity and vivacity of underſtanding. The earl of Suffolk, therefore, in concert with his aſſociates in the Engliſh council, made propoſals of marriage to Margaret, which were accepted. Beſides obtaining the princeſs's favour, by being the principal means of her advancement, he endeavoured to ingratiate himſelf into her eſteem and that of her family, by extraordinary conceſſions; for though Margaret brought no dowry, he ventured, without any direct authority from the council, though he had probably the cardinal's approbation, to promiſe, in a ſecret article, that the province of Maine, which was then in the hands of the Engliſh, ſhould be ceded to her uncle Charles of Anjou, the prime miniſter and favourite of the French king. This treaty of marriage was ratified in England; and Suffolk obtained firſt the title of marquis, then that of duke, and even received the thanks of parliament for his ſervices

in

in concluding it. This princeſs immediately became cloſely connected with the cardinal and his party, the dukes of Suffolk, Somerſet, and Buckingham, who now reſolved on the duke of Glouceſter's ruin.

This brave prince, who poſſeſſed, in the higheſt degree, the public favour, was thus defeated in all his court intrigues; and had, beſides, received from his rivals a cruel mortification, which it was impoſſible for a perſon of his ſpirit and humanity to forget. His dutcheſs had been accuſed of the crime of witchcraft; and it was pretended, that there had been found in her poſſeſſion, a waxen figure of the king, which ſhe and her aſſociates, Sir Roger Bolingbroke, a prieſt, and one Margery Jordan, melted before a ſlow fire, in a magical manner, in order to make Henry's ſtrength and vigour waſte away, by the like inſenſible degrees. This accuſation being well calculated to gain belief in an ignorant age, the dutcheſs and her confederates were brought to their trial, and the priſoners pronounced guilty: the dutcheſs was ſentenced to do public penance, and to ſuffer perpetual impriſonment, and the others were executed. But theſe cruel proceedings being ſolely aſcribed to the malice of the duke's enemies, the people acquitted the unhappy ſufferers, and their eſteem and affection for the duke increaſed, on ſeeing him thus expoſed to ſuch injurious treatment.

This rendered the cardinal of Wincheſter's party ſenſible of the neceſſity of deſtroying a

man, whoſe popularity might become ſo dangerous, and whoſe reſentment they had ſuch cauſe to fear. For this purpoſe, they ſummoned a parliament to meet at St. Edmundſbury, not chuſing that they ſhould aſſemble at London, which was ſuppoſed to be too well effected to the duke, who no ſooner appeared, than he was accuſed of treaſon, and ſoon after, on the 28th of February, 1447, was found dead in his bed; and though his body was expoſed to public view, and bore no marks of outward violence, no one doubted of his having fallen a victim to his enemies, who imagined, that his public trial and execution would have been more invidious than his private murder. Afterwards ſome gentlemen of his retinue were tried as his accomplices, and condemned to be hanged, drawn and quartered. They were hanged, and inſtantly cut down; but when the executioner was proceeding to quarter them, their pardon was produced, and they were recovered to life. A barbarous kind of mercy!

This prince, who, from his humanity and amiable character, was called the good duke of Glouceſter, is ſaid to have received a better education than was uſual in that ignorant age; to have founded one of the firſt public libraries in this kingdom, and to have been a great patron of learned men. This tended greatly to cure him of credulity; of which Sir Thomas More gives the following inſtance. A man pretended that he was born blind, but by touching

touching the ſhrine of St. Alban, he had recovered his ſight. Soon after the duke happening to paſs that way, examined the man, and ſeeming to doubt of his being able to ſee, aſked him the colour of ſeveral cloaks worn by the perſons in his retinue, and the man readily telling him, he anſwered, "You are a "knave, for had you been born blind, you "could not ſo ſoon have learned to diſtinguiſh "colours; and immediately ordered him to be "confined in the ſtocks as an impoſtor."

Six weeks after the death of Glouceſter, died the cardinal of Wincheſter, who, with the duke of Suffolk, were univerſally charged with the murder of that prince; and he is ſaid to have felt more remorſe in his laſt moments for that crime, than could have been expected from one hardened, during a long life, in falſehood and the mazes of politics. The queen was ſuſpected to have a ſhare in this guilt; for the people concluded, that Glouceſter's enemies would not have dared to commit ſuch an action without her conſent.

The articles in the marriage treaty by which Charles of Anjou, the queen's uncle, was to poſſeſs the province of Maine, had probably been all this while kept ſecret; and while the duke of Glouceſter was living, it could not have been put in execution without danger. But the court of France warmly inſiſted on its performance; orders under Henry's hand were now ſent to Sir Francis Surienne, governor of Mans, to ſurrender that city to Charles of Anjou.

Anjou. Surienne, either doubting the authenticity of the order, or conſidering his government as his only fortune, refuſed to comply; on which a French army, commanded by the count of Dunois, laid ſiege to the city. The governor made a brave defence, but receiving no relief from the duke of Somerſet, who was then governor of Normandy, he was at length obliged to capitulate; and not only to ſurrender Mans, but every other fortreſs in that province, which thus became entirely alienated from the crown of England. In 1448 Surienne, at the head of all his garriſons, which amounted to 2500 men, marched into Normandy, in hopes of being taken into pay, and of being quartered in ſome towns there. But Somerſet refuſed to admit him; on which he marched into Britanny, ſeized Fougeres, and having repaired the fortifications of Pontorſon and St. James de Beuvron, cauſed his troops to ſubſiſt, by extending their ravages through that province. The duke of Britanny naturally complained of this violence to his liege lord, the king of France, who ſent to remonſtrate with the duke of Somerſet. That nobleman anſwered, that the injury was done without his knowledge, and that he had no authority over Surienne and his followers. Charles, though he was well acquainted with the licentious independent ſpirit of ſuch mercenary troops, was diſſatisfied with this anſwer; and inſiſted, that thoſe plunderers ſhould not only be recalled, but that all the damages ſuſtained by the duke of Britanny ſhould be repaired;

and

and to render an accommodation impracticable, the damages were made to amount to 1,600,000 crowns; for he was reſolved to take advantage of the viſible ſuperiority, which the preſent ſtate of his affairs gave him over England.

Charles had, during the truce, employed himſelf in reſtoring the courſe of public juſtice, in repreſſing faction, in eſtabliſhing diſcipline in his troops, and in reviving the languid ſtate of agriculture and the arts; by which means, in a few years, he rendered his kingdom flouriſhing, and formidable to its neighbours. Affairs in England had, in the mean while, taken a very different turn. The court was divided into parties, and the people being diſcontented with the government, conquetts in France, amidſt the domeſtic troubles, were overlooked. The governor of Normandy was ſo ill ſupplied with money, that he was obliged to diſmiſs the greateſt part of his troops, and to permit the fortifications of the towns and caſtles to go out of repair; and both the nobility and people of the province had enjoyed frequent opportunities of renewing their connections with the French, and of concerting the means of expelling the Engliſh.

Charles being reſolved to take advantage of this favourable opportunity, broke the truce; and at once invaded Normandy with four powerful armies; one commanded by that king himſelf, a ſecond by the duke of Alençon, a third by the duke of Britanny, and a fourth by the count of Dunois. The towns opened their gates to the French almoſt as ſoon as they appeared

appeared before them, while the duke of Somerſet was ſo far from having an army ſufficient to take the field, that he was unable to ſupply the towns and fortreſſes with proper garriſons and proviſions. He therefore, with the few troops he commanded, retired to Rouen, to wait there the arrival of ſuccours from England, in order to ſave that capital. Charles, at the head of 50,000 men, appeared before its gates. The inhabitants, infected by the dangerous example of revolt, loudly called for a capitulation; and Somerſet being unable to reſiſt, at the ſame time, both the enemies within and thoſe without the city, retired with his garriſon into the caſtle and palace, which being untenable, he was obliged to ſurrender; and on the 4th of November, purchaſed a retreat to Harfleur, by paying 56,000 crowns, and promiſing to ſurrender Arques, Tancarville, Caudebec, Honfleur, and other places in Higher Normandy; and by delivering hoſtages for the performance of theſe articles. The governor of Honfleur refuſing to obey his orders, the brave earl of Shrewſbury, one of the hoſtages, was detained priſoner. Honfleur made a gallant defence under Sir Thomas Curſon, the governor, againſt Dunois; but was at laſt obliged to ſurrender. At length 4000 ſuccours arrived from England, but were ſoon after defeated by the count of Clermont at Fourmigni. This was the only battle fought by the Engliſh in defence of their dominions in France, which had been purchaſed at ſuch an expence of blood and treaſure.

The

The duke of Somerſet, who was ſhut up in Caen, without the leaſt proſpect of relief, was obliged to capitulate: Falaiſe ſurrendered on condition of the earl of Shrewſbury's being reſtored to liberty; and Cherburg, the laſt town in Normandy that remained in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, opening its gates, Charles, within the compaſs of one year, conquered that important province.

Though the inhabitants of Guienne were much better inclined to the Engliſh government, the arms of the French were attended with the ſame rapid ſucceſs; and Dunois being ſent thither, met with no reſiſtance in the field, and very little from the towns. All the ſmall places about Bourdeaux being reduced, that city conſented to ſurrender, on condition of its not being relieved by a certain time; and as the court of England gave themſelves no concern about the affairs of France, no relief came, and that city was obliged to ſurrender. Soon after Bayonne was taken; and Guienne, which had been united to England during three centuries, became united to France.

The war was in a manner at an end, though no peace or truce was concluded between England and France. The Engliſh, diſtracted by the civil diſſenſions which followed, made only one feeble effort more to recover Guienne; and Charles was employed in regulating his government, and counteracting the intrigues of Lewis, the dauphin. In England appeared a pretender to the crown, who diſputed the title of the weak prince ſeated on the throne.

The

The males of the houſe of Mortimer being all extinct, Anne, the laſt earl of Marche's ſiſter, who married the earl of Cambridge, tranſmitted her claim to her ſon Richard, duke of York. This prince, who was thus deſcended on his mother's ſide from Philippa, the only daughter of the duke of Clarence, Edward the Third's ſecond ſon, ſtood in the order of ſucceſſion before the king, who was deſcended from the duke of Lancaſter, that monarch's third ſon. Richard was diſtinguiſhed by his abilities, his bravery, and his prudence. Theſe virtues he had diſplayed in his government of France; and though recalled by the intrigues of the duke of Somerſet, had been ſent to ſuppreſs a rebellion in Ireland, in which he ſucceeded much better than his rival, in the defence of Normandy; and had ever gained the eſteem and affection of the Iriſh, whom he was ſent to ſubdue. In right of his father, he enjoyed the rank of firſt prince of the blood, and thus gave a luſtre to his title, derived from the houſe of Mortimer, which had been eclipſed by the royal deſcent of that of Lancaſter. He was in poſſeſſion of an immenſe fortune, from his ſucceeding to the eſtates of Cambridge, York, and Mortimer; which laſt had before been increaſed by an union of the eſtates of Clarence and Ulſter, with the patrimonial poſſeſſion of the family of Marche. Beſides Richard's alliances, by his marrying the daughter of Ralph Nevil, earl of Weſtmoreland, had greatly extended his intereſt among the nobility.

At

At this time the family of Nevil was one of the moſt powerful in England. For beſides the earl of Weſtmoreland and the lords Abergavenny, Fauconberg and Latimer, the earls of Warwick and Saliſbury, who were of that family, were the greateſt noblemen in the kingdom. The perſonal qualities of theſe two earls, more eſpecially that of Warwick, added to the ſplendor of their nobility, and to their influence over the people. The latter, who was afterwards diſtinguiſhed by the epithet of the Setter-up and Puller-down of kings, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his bravery in the field, his hoſpitality, and the frankneſs and openneſs of his character; hence his preſents were conſidered as a ſure teſtimony of his eſteem and friendſhip; and his profeſſions as the overflowings of his genuine ſentiments. Thirty thouſand perſons are ſaid to have heen fed at his expence, in the manors and caſtles he poſſeſſed in England. Allured by his bravery, munificence and hoſpitality, the military men were zealouſly attached to his intereſt, and the people in general, who bore him an unbounded affection, were more devoted to his will than to the prince on the throne. The duke of York had alſo many other partizans among the nobility; as Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, and Moubray, duke of Norfolk, who were attached to him from their hatred of the houſe of Lancaſter.

The people repined at the loſs of their boaſted acquiſitions in France, though they had never been willing to grant the ſupplies neceſſary for

keeping poſſeſſion of them. The province of Maine being ceded to the queen's uncle, made them ſuſpect, that the loſs of Normandy and Guienne was owing to treachery. Margaret was conſidered as a ſecret enemy, who promoted the ſucceſs of the French; but the aſſaſſination of the good duke of Glouceſter, was the moſt fatal blow given to the houſe of Lancaſter, as it deprived that family of its firmeſt ſupport, and as it loaded it with the infamy of that imprudent as well as barbarous action. The duke of Suffolk, who was prime miniſter and the queen's favourite, being known to have had an active hand in that crime, partook of the general hatred. The great nobility could not bear to ſee one, who was only the great grandſon to a merchant, exalted above them. The people complained of his arbitrary meaſures, and the great acquiſitions he daily made at the expence of the crown, which was reduced to poverty, rendered him the object of envy and averſion.

Suffolk, ſenſible of his having incurred the public hatred, and foreſeeing that he ſhould be attacked by the commons, ſtrove to overawe his enemies, by boldly preſenting himſelf to the charge. He roſe in the houſe of peers, and taking notice of the clamours raiſed againſt him, complained, that after he had ſerved the crown in thirty-four campaigns; after he had lived abroad ſeventeen years, without once viſiting his native country; after loſing a father and three brothers in the French wars; after being made a priſoner, and purchaſed his liberty

berty with a large ranſom, it ſhould be ſuſpected, that he had been corrupted by that enemy whom, with ſuch zeal and fortitude he had oppoſed, and that he had betrayed his prince, who had rewarded him for his ſervices, with the greateſt offices and higheſt honours.

The commons, provoked at this challenge, ſent up to the peers an accuſation of high treaſon; in which they inſiſted that he had perſuaded the king of France to invade England; in order to depoſe Henry, and to place on the throne John de la Pole, his own ſon, whom he intended to marry to Margaret, the late duke of Somerſet's daughter: of his having contributed to the releaſe of the duke of Orleans, in hopes that he would aſſiſt king Charles in expelling the Engliſh from France; of his having afterwards encouraged that prince to make war on Normandy and Guienne, and of his having promoted his conqueſts, by betraying the ſecrets of England, and obſtructing the ſuccours to be ſent over to thoſe provinces; and of his having, without any powers or commiſſion, promiſed to cede the province of Maine, to Charles of Anjou, and had accordingly ceded it; which proved the chief cauſe of the loſs of Normandy.

It is evident, that theſe articles were adopted by the commons from popular clamours, without any juſt foundation; and therefore being ſoon ſenſible that theſe charges would not bear a ſtrict ſcrutiny, they ſent up new ones, in which, among other imputations, they affirmed that he had embezzled the public money, pro-

cured exorbitant grants from the crown, conferred offices on improper perſons, perverted juſtice, and procured pardon for notorious offenders. The court, alarmed at the proſecution of a favourite miniſter, fell into an expedient to ſave him from preſent ruin. Henry ſummoned all the lords, ſpiritual and temporal, to his apartment; and the priſoner being produced, was aſked, what he could ſay in his own defence: He denied the whole, but ſubmitted to the king's mercy. Henry appeared ſatisfied with reſpect to the firſt impeachment for treaſon; but, in conſideration of the ſecond for miſdemeanors, he ſaid, that by virtue of Suffolk's own ſubmiſſion, he baniſhed him the kingdom during five years. The lords remained ſilent, but no ſooner returned to their own houſe, than they entered a proteſt, that their privileges ſhould not be infringed by this ſentence; and that if Suffolk, inſtead of voluntarily ſubmitting to the king's commands, had inſiſted upon his right, he would have been intitled to a trial by his peers in parliament.

Every one was ſenſible, that theſe irregular proceedings were intended to favour the duke of Suffolk, who, as he ſtill enjoyed the queen's favour, would, as ſoon as an opportunity offered, be reſtored to his country, and to his former power and credit. His enemies, therefore, employed the captain of a veſſel to intercept him in his paſſage to France, who ſeizing him near Dover, without any farther ceremony, cauſed his head to be ſtruck off on the ſide of a long boat; after which his body was thrown into

into the ſea. Thus fell William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, who, a few days before, was the greateſt and moſt powerful perſon in the kingdom: yet no enquiry was made after the actors and accomplices of this crime.

The duke of Suffolk was ſucceeded in the miniſtry, and in credit with the queen, by the duke of Somerſet, who being the perſon under whoſe government the provinces in France had been loſt, the populace, who conſtantly judge from the event, ſoon made him the object of their hatred. Mean while the duke of York was abſent in Ireland, and though it might be ſuſpected, that the proſecution againſt Suffolk had been excited by his partizans, he could not be immediately charged with it. But the jealouſy of the court was ſoon after rouſed by an incident, which diſcovered the extreme danger to which it was expoſed, from that popular prince.

The diſſatisfaction of the people broke out in ſeveral commotions, all of which were ſoon ſuppreſſed, except one in Kent, John Cade, an Iriſhman of low rank, aſſumed the name of Mortimer; intending, as is ſuppoſed, to paſs for Sir John Mortimer, who had been attainted by parliament in the beginning of this reign, and executed on an indictment of high treaſon, without any trial or evidence. The people of Kent, on the firſt mention of that popular name, flocked to Cade's ſtandard, to the number of twenty thouſand men; on which he inflamed their zeal, by publiſhing complaints againſt the many abuſes in government, and the

neceſſity of eaſing the people. As the court was not yet fully ſenſible of the danger, Sir Humphrey Stafford was ſent with a ſmall force againſt the rioters, but was defeated and ſlain in a battle near Sevenoak. Cade now advanced with his followers towards London, and encamping on Black-heath, ſent a liſt of grievances to the court, promiſing, that on their being redreſſed, and on the puniſhment of lord Say, the treaſurer, and Cromer, ſheriff of Kent, being puniſhed for their crimes, he would lay down his arms. The council perceiving, that none were willing to fight againſt men whoſe pretenſions were ſo reaſonable, took the king, for preſent ſafety, to Kenilworth; and the city opened its gates to Cade, who, for ſome time, preſerved great order and diſcipline among his followers. During the night time, he conſtantly led them into the fields, and publiſhed ſevere edicts againſt all kinds of plunder and violence; but their malevolence againſt Say and Cromer obliging him to ſuffer them to put theſe men to death without a legal trial, the commiſſion of this crime made them give a looſe to their riotous diſpoſition, and from this time forward, little regard was paid to his orders. They broke into the houſe of a rich citizen, which they plundered; and this creating a general alarm, the gates were ſhut againſt them; and the citizens being ſeconded by a party of ſoldiers ſent to them by lord Scales, governor of the Tower, the rebels were repulſed with great ſlaughter. The men of Kent, on receiving this blow, were ſo diſcouraged,

raged, that upon the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York (the latter of whom was chancellor) publiſhing a general pardon, ſigned with the great ſeal, they retreated towards Rocheſter, and there diſperſed: but the pardon being ſoon after annulled, as extorted by violence, a price was ſet on Cade's head, on which he was killed by a gentleman of Suſſex; and afterwards many of his followers being taken, ſuffered death.

The court imagined, that Cade had been ſecretly inſtigated by the duke of York, in order to try the diſpoſitions of the people, with reſpect to his family; and at the ſame time hearing, that he intended to return from Ireland, and fearing that he would be accompanied by a body of forces, they iſſued orders, in the king's name, to oppoſe his landing. But the duke coming only with his ordinary retinue, the miniſters precautions only ſerved to ſhew him their jealouſy and ill will. Being ſenſible, that as his title was dangerous to the king, it was alſo dangerous to himſelf, he perceived the neceſſity of proceeding in the ſupport of his claim. His party was therefore directed to maintain, in all companies, his right, both by ſucceſſion and the conſtitution of the kingdom. This ſubject being daily more and more debated in converſation, the minds of the people became inſenſibly embittered againſt each other, before they proceeded to more dangerous extremities.

It was maintained by the partizans of the houſe of Lancaſter, that though Henry the Fourth's

Fourth's elevation might be allowed to be irregular, and not juſtifiable by any of the principles on which he choſe to reſt his title, it was founded on general conſent, and was a national act, derived from the approbation of a free people, who being looſened from their allegiance, by the tyranny of the preceding government, were influenced by gratitude, and the intereſt of the public, to entruſt the ſceptre to the hands of their deliverer: that ſuppoſing that eſtabliſhment to be at firſt invalid, it had acquired ſolidity by time, which gives authority to government, and removes the ſcruples, which the irregular ſteps that attend moſt revolutions excite in the minds of the people: that the right of ſucceſſion was only admitted for the general good, and the ſupport of public order; and ought never to be pleaded as a motive for the deſtruction of national tranquility and regular eſtabliſhment. That the nation owed their allegiance to the houſe of Lancaſter from moral as well as political obligations; ſince, were they to infringe the many oaths of fealty which they had ſworn to Henry and his predeceſſors, they would be ſet looſe from all principles, and ever after, it would be difficult to fix them: that the duke of York himſelf, by frequently doing homage to the king as his lawful ſovereign, had thereby renounced thoſe claims: that it was too late to remedy the violation of hereditary right by the depoſition of Richard, as the people were accuſtomed to a government which the late king had rendered glorious, and his predeceſſors prudent and ſalutary;

lutary; ſince a change would cauſe multiplied diſorders, and the ſhedding of an inundation of blood, by which no other advantage could be obtained, but exchanging one pretender for another; and that though the preſent king did not enjoy the ſhining talents that appeared in his father and grandfather, he might have a ſon who ſhould be endowed with them; and in the mean time, he himſelf was diſtinguiſhed by the moſt harmleſs and inoffenſive manners.

On the other hand, the partizans of the houſe of York aſſerted, that maintaining the order of ſucceſſion, was ſo far from being an injury to the people, that it ſerved to prevent the numberleſs confuſions that muſt enſue, if no rule were followed but the uncertain views of preſent advantage: that the privileges of the people could alone be maintained by the obſervance of the laws; and if no regard was paid to the rights of the ſovereign, it could not be expected, that any ſhould be paid to the property and freedom of the ſubject: that it was never too late to correct a pernicious precedent, ſince ſupporting it, inſtead of favouring the tranquility of the public, had a tendency to disjoint every principle by which human ſociety was ſupported; and that uſurpers would be happy if their preſent poſſeſſion of power, or their continuance for a few years, could convert them into legal princes: that the reſtoration of the true order of ſucceſſion could not be conſidered as a charge that would familiarize the people to revolutions; but as the correction of a former change which had encouraged

encouraged the ſpirit of diſobedience and rebellion; and that there was no compariſon between a prince unable to ſway the ſceptre, and blindly governed by corrupt miniſters, in conjuction with an imperious queen, engaged in foreign intereſts; and a prince of approved wiſdom and experience, the lineal heir of the crown, who, on his being raiſed to the throne, would replace every thing on the ancient baſis.

Thus the people were extremely divided in their ſentiments on this intereſting queſtion; and though thoſe noblemen, who poſſeſſed the greateſt power and influence, ſeem to have engaged in the duke of York's party, the oppoſite cauſe received great advantage from its being ſupported by the preſent laws, and the immediate poſſeſſion of royal authority. Hence there were many great noblemen among the Lancaſtrians: the earl of Northumberland adhered to the preſent government; even the earl of Weſtmoreland, notwithſtanding his connections with the duke of York, and his being the head of the family of Nevil, was brought over to the ſame party, and all the north of England was, by means of theſe two powerful noblemen, warmly engaged in the intereſts of the houſe of Lancaſter.

It might have been expected, that the diſaffected barons would have inſtantly flown to arms; but by the gradual progreſs of the arts, the people were become ſomewhat more enlightened than formerly, and it was now previouſly neceſſary to reconcile their minds to the overthrow of the preſent family, before their con-

concurrence could be reaſonably expected. The duke of York himſelf was of a moderate and cautious diſpoſition, and diſpoſed to truſt the ſucceſs of his pretenſions rather to time and policy, than to ſanguinary meaſures; at the ſame time the king's imbecility encouraged the Yorkiſts to hope, that after baniſhing the obnoxious miniſters, and getting the king's perſon in their poſſeſſion, they might gradually undermine his authority; and, without the dangers of a civil war, be at length able to change the ſucceſſion, by parliamentary authority.

A parliament aſſembled on the 6th of November, 1451, ſoon after the duke of York's arrival from Ireland, favoured theſe expectations; for the commons preſented a petition to the king againſt the duke of Somerſet, the dutcheſs of Suffolk, the biſhop of Cheſter, the lord Dudley, and ſeveral others of inferior rank, praying the king to remove them for ever from his perſon and council. The king anſwered, that except the lords, all the others, ſhould be baniſhed from court during a year, unleſs he ſhould be obliged to recal them, in order to make uſe of their ſervice in ſuppreſſing any rebellion.

The next year the duke of York raiſing an army of 10,000 men, marched towards London, inſiſting on a reformation of the government, and the duke of Somerſet being removed from all power and authority; but having the mortification to find the gates of the city ſhut againſt him, he retired into Kent, followed

lowed by the king, at the head of a ſuperior army, in which appeared ſeveral of Richard's friends, particularly Saliſbury and Warwick; probably in order to mediate between the parties, and to ſecond the duke's pretenſions. A parley enſued between the king and Richard, who ſtill inſiſted upon Somerſet's removal, and his ſubmitting to a trial in parliament. The court pretended to comply with this demand, and to put that nobleman under an arreſt; after which the duke of York was perſuaded to pay his reſpects to the king in his tent, where, repeating his charge againſt the duke of Somerſet, to his great aſtoniſhment, he ſaw that miniſter ſtep from behind the curtain, and attempt to maintain his innocence. Richard was now ſenſible, that he had been betrayed, and was in the hands of his enemies. However, no violence was attempted againſt him: he had many friends in Henry's camp, and his ſons, who were not in the power of the court, might ſtill be able to revenge his death; it was therefore thought prudent to diſmiſs him, on which he retired to Wigmore, a ſeat he poſſeſſed on the borders of Wales.

An accident happened while the duke of York lived in this retirement, which increaſed the diſaffection of the public. Several of the nobles of Gaſcony, who had an affection for the government of the Engliſh, and were offended at their being brought under the dominion of the French, offered, with proper aſſiſtance, to throw off the yoke, and return to their allegiance under Henry. On which the brave

brave Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury, at the head of 8000 men, was ſent to their aſſiſtance; and with this little army he entered Bourdeaux, which opened its gates to him, and made himſelf maſter of Fronſac, Caſtillon, and ſome other towns, as rapidly as they were loſt. Thus his affairs wore a favourable aſpect; but Charles haſting to reſiſt this dangerous invaſion, with a very numerous army, laid ſiege to Caſtillon. The earl of Shrewſbury marched to its relief, and attacked the French intrenchments, where the Engliſh being overpowered by numbers, began to give ground. At that inſtant the earl of Shrewſbury was wounded in the thigh with a muſket-ball, and his horſe killed under him. Being unable to remount on account of his wound, he begged Sir John Talbot, his ſon, to retire, and ſave himſelf for another occaſion, where he might be ſtill ſerviceable to his country. But rather than fly, he choſe to die by the earl, his father, and was ſoon after ſlain. Thus fell the valiant Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury, with his brave ſon in battle, at above four-ſcore years of age. Caſtillon ſurrendered ſoon after: Bourdeaux was again obliged to ſubmit to Charles; and all hopes of recovering Gaſcony were for ever extinguiſhed.

The Engliſh were greatly diſſatisfied on this occaſion, and threw all the blame on the miniſtry. While they were in this diſpoſition, the queen's being delivered of a ſon, who received the name of Edward, on the 13th of October 1453, gave them no ſatisfaction, as it was a

bar to their hopes of the duke of York's peaceable ſucceſſion; and this diſſatisfaction tended to inflame the quarrel between the two parties. The duke was, however, too wiſe to liſten to violent councils, and was prevented by his own ſcruples from aſcending the throne, even when prevented by no viſible object. The next year Henry was ſeized with a diſtemper, by which his natural imbecility was ſo far increaſed, as to render him incapable of maintaining even the appearance of royalty. On which the queen and council finding themſelves unable, without this ſupport, to reſiſt the duke of York's party, were obliged to ſubmit to the torrent; and ſending Somerſet to the Tower, appointed Richard lieutenant of the kingdom, with power to call a parliament; and that aſſembly ſoon after created him protector during pleaſure. Thoſe who thus entruſted one that had ſuch evident pretenſions to the crown with ſovereign authority, were certainly not averſe to his aſcending the throne; yet the duke, inſtead of urging his title, drew back, and appeared irreſolute in receiving the power that was offered him. He deſired, that it might be recorded in parliament, that they conferred this authority upon him from their own free motion, without his applying for it; expreſſed his hopes of their aſſiſtance, and not only made it a condition of his acceptance, that the lords appointed to be of his council ſhould alſo exerciſe that truſt, but required, that the parliament ſhould ſpecify and define all the powers of his office.

Amiable

Amiable and unuſual as this moderation was, it had unhappy effects. His enemies ſoon found themſelves able to take advantage of his exceſſive caution. Henry being the next year ſo far recovered from his diſorder, as to aſſume the appearance of exerciſing the royal power, he was perſuaded to reſume his authority; to annul the duke's regency, and not only to releaſe Somerſet from the Tower, but to commit the adminiſtration into his hands. Richard being ſenſible of the dangers to which he might be expoſed for having accepted of the parliamentary commiſſion, ſhould he now ſubmit to its being annulled, levied an army; but without making any pretenſions to the crown, complained of the king's miniſters, and demanded a reformation of the government; and ſoon after a battle was fought at St. Albans on the 22d of May 1455, in which the victory was ſoon determined in favour of the duke of York, whoſe enemies loſt about 5000 men, among whom were the duke of Somerſet, the earls of Northumberland and Stafford, lord Clifford, and many other perſons of diſtinction. Mean time the king, who was wounded in the neck with an arrow, finding himſelf deſerted in the rout of his army, retired to a little houſe, which was ſoon inveſted. Notice being brought of it to the duke of York, he poſted thither with the earl of Saliſbury; and both of them kneeling before him, the duke told him, that ſince the public enemy was dead, he ſaw none there but perſons ready to obey him. Upon this the king

recovering a little from the fright occaſioned by the approach of the duke, entreated him, for God's ſake, to put a ſtop to the ſlaughter, aſſuring him, that he was ready to give him all the ſatisfaction he could reaſonably deſire. The duke of York inſtantly ordered a retreat to be ſounded, and enjoined, that no more blood ſhould be ſhed. He then conducted the king to St. Albans, and the next day they returned together to London.

A parliament being ſoon after aſſembled, they granted the Yorkiſts a general indemnity; and though they reſtored the protectorſhip to the duke, who would not receive it without his former precautions, they renewed their oaths of fealty to Henry, and fixed the continuance of the protectorſhip to the time when his ſon Edward ſhould be of age. That prince was alſo veſted with the uſual dignities of prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Cheſter. In this parliament was paſſed an act, by which all the grants were reſumed, that had been made ſince the death of Henry the Fifth, and which had greatly impoveriſhed the crown.

There was no great difficulty in wreſting power from the duke of York, who took little care to retain it. In 1456 the queen, in the duke's preſence, appeared with Henry before the houſe of lords, his health permitting him to act his part with ſome degree of propriety; and he there declared, that being by God's grace in good health, and able to reſume the reins of government, he thought the kingdom no longer wanted a protector; and deſired the par-

parliament to conſent to the duke of York's being diſmiſſed from that office. The contrary party were ſurprized, and did not oppoſe this motion; and the houſe of lords, many of whom were offended with the late act of reſumption of grants, giving their aſſent to Henry's propoſal, he was declared to be reinſtated in the ſovereign authority; even Richard himſelf acquieſced, and no diſturbance enſued. But the duke's claim to the crown was too well known, ever to allow ſincere truſt and confidence to ſubſiſt between the two parties.

The next year the court retiring to Coventry, invited the duke of York and the earls of Saliſbury and Warwick to attend the king; but when they were on the road, they received an intimation, that deſigns were formed againſt their liberties and lives. Upon this they inſtantly ſeparated: York retired to Wigmore caſtle, Saliſbury to Middleham, in Yorkſhire, and Warwick to his government at Calais, which he had obtained after the battle of St. Albans; and as it gave him the command of the only regular military force kept up by England, was at this juncture of the utmoſt importance. Perſons of a peaceable diſpoſition, particularly the archbiſhop of Canterbury, interpoſed their good offices to prevent the effuſion of blood; and their mediation was, for ſome time, ſucceſsful. It was at length agreed, that all the great leaders on each ſide ſhould meet, in order to be ſolemnly reconciled in London. In 1458, the duke of York and his partizans came thither with numerous re-

tinues, and for their mutual ſecurity, took up their quarters near each other. The ſame precaution was uſed by the chiefs of the Lancaſtrian party; while the mayor kept a ſtrict watch night and day at the head of 5000 men, and uſed the utmoſt vigilance in maintaining peace between them. Terms were adjuſted, by which the ground of difference was not removed, though an outward reconciliation was procured. In order to render the people ſenſible of this apparent agreement, a ſolemn proceſſion was made to St. Paul's, in which queen Margaret was led by the duke of York, and the chief of one party marched hand in hand with the chief of the other. But the ſmalleſt accident was, in the preſent diſpoſition of their minds, ſufficient to diſſolve this ſeeming harmony. One of the king's retinue, in 1459, inſulted one of the earl of Warwick's; and their companions on both ſides taking part in the quarrel, a fierce combat enſued. The earl apprehending, that there was a deſign againſt his life, fled to his government at Calais, with a mind filled with reſentment, he being confirmed in this opinion by his hearing, that the king had ordered him to be arreſted, and ſent to the Tower. Hence both parties made open preparations throughout England for deciding the conteſt.

The earl of Saliſbury, while on his march to join the duke of York, was overtaken at Bloreheath, on the borders of Staffordſhire, by lord Audley, at the head of a ſuperior body of forces; and a little river with ſteep banks

ran

ran between the two armies. Saliſbury poſted himſelf on its bank, as if he meant to guard the paſs, and prevent his being attacked; but ſuddenly, as if ſeized with fear, retired in the night, marching in ſuch a manner, that at break of day, his enemies might ſee the rear of his army. This ſudden retreat, which had the appearance of hurry and confuſion, inſpiring the royaliſts with great ardour, they began to paſs the river in diſorder, and to follow him with precipitation; but when the van of the royal army had paſſed the river, while others were in the water, and others ready to paſs, Saliſbury ſuddenly turned upon them, and attacked the troops which had already paſſed, who had ſcarce time to draw up. The battle, however, laſted four or five hours, the king's troops being ſupported by thoſe who were continually paſſing. But as this could not be done without great confuſion, the royal army was at length routed, and put to flight. In this battle, which was fought on the 23d of September 1459, Audley himſelf, with all the principal officers, and two thouſand four hundred men were ſlain.

After this victory, Saliſbury proceeded to a general rendezvous of the Yorkiſts, which had been appointed at Ludlow, whither Warwick brought over a choice body of veteran troops from Calais. It was ſeven months after the battle of Bloreheath, before the forces of the two parties were completely aſſembled. At length the king marched from Coventry towards Ludlow; but before he arrived at that town,

town, made a halt, and ſent an offer of pardon to the rebels, on condition of their laying down their arms. To which they anſwered, that they could no longer rely on ſuch promiſes, ſince they were only intended to ſurprize them; but yet they were ready to ſubmit to the king, if ſome expedient could be found for their ſafety. Henry, upon receiving this anſwer, ordered his army to advance, and at the ſame time gave the duke of Somerſet a patent to be governor of Calais, in the room of the earl of Warwick. The king ſtill advancing, the Yorkiſts ſent him a very ſubmiſſive letter, in which they entreated him to conſider, that they had taken arms only in their own defence, againſt the attempts of their enemies, and were all along determined not to fight unleſs forced to it; and that they only deſired to redreſs the grievances which his miniſtry had introduced into the government. They then beſought the king to conſider them as loyal ſubjects, who had formed no deſigns againſt his perſon, and to reſtore them to favour.

Their enemies imagining, that this letter was dictated by fear, advanced within half a mile of them, in order to give them battle the next day. At the ſame time they found means to diſperſe, in the camp of the Yorkiſts, the king's proclamation, offering a pardon to all who would lay down their arms. This had a ſurprizing effect; for the duke of York's troops imagining, that the king offered a pardon on account of the ſuperiority of his forces, and that there was no time to loſe, many of them immediately

immediately diſbanded themſelves; and Sir Andrew Trollop, who commanded the veterans brought from Calais, deſerted to the king in the night time. This deſertion, which encreaſed every moment, threw the Yorkiſts into ſuch conſternation, that fearing they ſhould be delivered up to the king as ſoon as day appeared, they choſe to ſave themſelves by flight. The duke of York taking with him the earl of Rutland, his ſecond ſon, fled to Ireland: the earl of Warwick, with many of the other leaders, eſcaped to Calais. The reſt of the officers and ſoldiers being thus abandoned, were all pardoned, except a few who were executed as examples. Mean while the friends of the houſe of York kept themſelves every where in readineſs to riſe on the firſt ſummons from their leaders.

The earl of Warwick, after meeting with ſome ſucceſs at ſea, landed in Kent in 1460, with the earl of Saliſbury and the earl of Marche, the duke of York's eldeſt ſon; and being met by the primate, lord Cobham, and other perſons of diſtinction, he marched to London, amidſt the acclamations of the people. The gates of the city were inſtantly opened to him, and on his proceeding from thence, his troops encreaſed ſo faſt every day, that he was ſoon in a condition to face the royal army, which haſted from Coventry to attack him. The battle was fought near Northampton on the 19th of July. The earl of Warwick commanded the right wing, the lord Cobham the left, and the earl of March the center.

ter. The dukes of Somerſet and Buckingham commanded the royaliſts, while the queen was at a diſtance to obſerve what paſſed, and to give orders accordingly. In the mean time the king remained in his tent, waiting the iſſue of a battle that might ſecure him in the poſſeſſion of the crown, or deprive him of it forever. The Yorkiſts cauſed a ſtrict charge to be publiſhed through the army, not to hurt the king's perſon, to ſpare the common ſoldiers, and to fall chiefly upon the officers. The battle began about two in the afternoon, and was fought with great obſtinacy, till the lord Grey of Ruthin, who commanded a conſiderable body of the king's army, ſuddenly went over to the Yorkiſts, when the royaliſts being apprehenſive that others would follow this example, began to give ground, and at laſt were entirely routed, with the loſs of 10,000 men. The duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewſbury, the ſon of the brave Talbot, the lords Beaumont and Egremont, and Sir William Lucy, were ſlain. The queen, the young prince of Wales, and the duke of Somerſet fled, without ſtopping to take reſt till they entered the biſhopric of Durham, ſo great was her fear of falling into the hands of her enemies; while the unfortunate ſhadow of a king continuing in his tent, once more fell into the hands of the victorious lords, who paid him all the reſpect he could have received in his greateſt proſperity. Immediately after the battle he was conducted to Northampton, where he took up his reſidence for ſome time; after which he

he returned to London, encompaſſed by a croud of thoſe lords who, a ſhort time before, had appeared in arms againſt him. In the mean time the queen, not thinking herſelf ſafe in Durham, privately retired with only eight perſons into Wales, but ſoon after left that retreat, and fled with the prince, her ſon, to Scotland.

Upon the king's arrival in London, a parliament was ſummoned in the king's name, and met at Weſtminſter. The duke of York, who was in Ireland when the laſt battle was fought, had been informed of the ſucceſs of his friends, and immediately returning to England, was preſent at this parliament. He had never openly advanced any claim to the crown, but had only complained of evil miniſters, and required the redreſs of grievances: even in the preſent criſis, when the parliament was ſurrounded by a victorious army, he ſhewed that regard to the laws and to liberty, that is ſeldom ſeen during the prevalence of a party in any civil diſſenſions. Having advanced towards the throne, which was empty, and being met by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who aſked him, whether he had yet paid his reſpects to the king, he anſwered, that he knew of none to whom he owed that title. He then, as he ſtood near the throne, addreſſed the houſe of peers; and after giving them a deduction of his title by deſcent, took notice of the cruelties by which the houſe of Lancaſter had paved their way to ſovereign power; mentioned the calamities which had attended Henry's government;

ment; exhorted them to return to the right path, by doing juſtice to the lineal ſucceſſor; and thus pleaded his cauſe before the peers, as his natural and legal judges.

The coolneſs and moderation with which he thus demanded the crown, both intimidated his friends and encouraged his enemies: hence the lords remained in ſuſpence, and none ventured to utter a word on this occaſion. Richard, who doubtleſs expected that he would have been invited by the peers to ſeat himſelf on the throne, appeared diſappointed at their ſilence; but deſiring them to reflect on what he had propoſed, inſtantly retired.

Upon his abſence, the houſe took the affair into conſideration with the ſame calmneſs, as if it had been a common ſubject of debate: they deſired ſome conſiderable members among the commons to aſſiſt in their deliberations: for ſeveral days ſucceſſively they debated the reaſons on both ſides, and at laſt proceeded to a deciſion, which was calculated, as far as poſſible, to pleaſe both parties. They declared, that the duke of York's title was certain and indefeaſible; but as Henry had enjoyed the crown without diſpute during the courſe of thirty-eight years, they decreed that he ſhould, during the remainder of his life, continue to poſſeſs the title; but that in the mean while Richard ſhould be entruſted with the adminiſtration of the government, and ſhould be acknowledged the true and lawful heir; that every one ſhould ſwear to maintain his ſucceſſion, and it ſhould be treaſon to attempt his life.

life. The moderation with which this great affair was conducted, is worthy of admiration. The duke nobly acquieſced in this deciſion, though being much older than the king, he could not expect to out-live him, and Henry himſelf could not oppoſe it.

The duke might probably have obtained from the commons terms much more to his own advantage, without making uſe either of menaces or violence: but many of the peers, having received grants or dignities during the ſixty years that had paſſed ſince the houſe of Lancaſter became poſſeſſed of the government, they were afraid of infringing their own ſeparate privileges and titles, by too ſuddenly overthrowing that family. Hence, from their temporizing between theſe parties, they fixed the throne upon a very unſolid baſis. The duke being juſtly ſenſible, that his principal danger would ariſe from the activity and ſpirit of the queen, ſent her, in the king's name, a ſummons to return immediately to London, intending, in caſe of her refuſal, to baniſh her the kingdom. She was, however, exerting all her genius, activity, and ſpirit, in defence of the rights of her family. Returning from Scotland with her infant ſon, ſhe applied to the northern barons, and uſed every means to procure their aſſiſtance. Her affability and inſinuating addreſs, in which ſhe excelled, with her careſſes and promiſes, had a wonderful effect on all who approached her; whoſe admiration of theſe amiable qualities, was ſucceeded by their compaſſion for her huſ-

band's condition; and the northern nobility, who conſidered themſelves as the moſt warlike in the kingdom, allured the people to flock to their ſtandard, by promiſing them the ſpoils of all the provinces on the other ſide of the Trent. Hence the queen obtained an army of 20,000 men, with a celerity, which neither her friends nor enemies could expect or apprehend.

Richard was no ſooner informed of her appearance in the north, than he marched haſtily thither with five thouſand men, in order to ſuppreſs, as he imagined, the beginnings of an inſurrection; but he no ſooner arrived at Wakefield, than he heard how greatly he was out-numbered by the enemy. He therefore threw himſelf into Sandal caſtle, which was ſituated in the neighbourhood; and was adviſed, by the earl of Saliſbury and his other friends, to keep himſelf and his troops ſhut up in that fortreſs till his ſon, the earl of Marche, who was levying an army on the borders of Wales, could march to his aſſiſtance. The queen, who had no artillery, and was unable to force an entrance into that fortreſs, was extremely troubled at thus loſing the hopes of a victory, which ſhe flattered herſelf ſhe ſhould eaſily obtain, by means of the ſuperior number of her troops. She therefore neglected no means of inducing him to leave his retreat. She placed a conſiderable body of troops in ambuſh, out of ſight of the caſtle, and then appearing before the walls, ſometimes threatened the duke, and at others ſent him defiances, upbraiding him, that a man who thus aſpired to the crown,

ſhould

ſhould have the cowardice to ſhut himſelf up for fear of a woman.

The duke of York, who had hitherto ſhewn no leſs wiſdom than courage, now unhappily ſuffered the latter to prevail; and deſcending into the plain, offered battle to the enemy, which was inſtantly accepted. The great inequality of numbers was alone ſufficient to have decided the victory. While he was preſſed by the enemy in his front, he was attacked in the rear by thoſe in ambuſh, which threw his troops into ſuch confuſion, that in leſs than half an hour they were routed, and he himſelf was ſlain bravely fighting. His ſecond ſon, the younger earl of Rutland, who was not above twelve years of age, flying with his governor, was overtaken by the lord Clifford, and that barbarian, to revenge the death of his father, who had periſhed in the battle of St. Albans, plunged his dagger into the breaſt of that young and innocent prince, whoſe exterior figure and accompliſhments are ſaid to have been extremely amiable. Afterwards the ſame lord Clifford, finding the body of the duke of York, cut off his head, and incircling it with a paper crown, fixed it on the end of his lance, and preſented it to the queen, who ordered it to be placed on the walls of York. The earl of Saliſbury being wounded, was taken priſoner, and ſoon after beheaded at Pontefract, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction. In this battle three thouſand Yorkiſts were ſlain. The duke was greatly and juſtly lamented by his own party, he

having merited a much better fate. This brave prince thus periſhed in the fiftieth year of his age, leaving three ſons, Edward, George, and Richard, with three daughters, Anne, Elizabeth, and Margaret.

This victory ſeemed to have firmly reſtored the affairs of the king, or rather of the queen; and yet it only ſerved to haſten their ruin. Edward, earl of Marche, on hearing of the defeat and death of the duke, his father, was ſo far from being diſcouraged, that he reſolved to maintain the quarrel, and either to loſe his life, or aſcend the throne. He was then in Wales, from whence he was going to ſet out to his father's aſſiſtance. He had an army of 23,000 men, beſides what was left at London, under the command of the earl of Warwick, for the defence of the metropolis.

While Edward, now duke of York, was longing to revenge his father's death, the queen advanced towards London, in order to ſecure that city; but hearing, upon the road, that Edward was beginning to move, and not imagining that he was ſo ſtrong as he really was, ſhe detached Jaſper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, to oppoſe him. The two armies met near Mortimer's Croſs, in Herefordſhire; and the new duke of York being much ſuperior in the number of his troops, eaſily defeated him, and ſlew near four thouſand of his men. The earl of Pembroke had the good fortune to eſcape; but Sir Owen Tudor, his father, was taken priſoner, and immediately beheaded by Edward's orders.

Mean

Mean while the queen continued her march towards London; and being arrived at St. Albans, the earl of Warwick, who had been reinforced by a ſtrong body of Londoners, advanced to meet her, on which a battle enſued. But while the armies were warmly engaged, Lovelace, who commanded one of the wings of Warwick's army, withdrew from the combat, and this treacherous conduct decided the victory in the queen's favour. The vanquiſhed loſt about two thouſand three hundred in the battle and purſuit; and the perſon of the king, whom Warwick did not chuſe to leave behind him, fell again into the hands of his own party. This weak prince was almoſt equally a priſoner into whatever hands he fell. Lord Bonville, to whoſe care the Yorkiſts had entruſted him, ſtaid with Henry after the defeat, on his aſſuring him of pardon; but Margaret paying no regard to her huſband's promiſe, inſtantly gave orders for the executioner to ſtrike off that nobleman's head; and Sir Thomas Kiriel, a warrior of diſtinguſhed bravery, who had ſignalized himſelf in the wars of France, was treated in the ſame manner.

Margaret made little advantage of this victory. Young Edward advanced towards her, and having collected the remains of Warwick's forces, was in a ſhort time able to give her battle with a ſuperior army. She was ſoon ſenſible of her danger, and inſtead of proceeding to London, where ſhe feared the gates would be ſhut againſt her, ſhe retreated to the north. Edward, overjoyed at the queen's thus giving

him up the metropolis, entered it amidſt the acclamations of the citizens. He was in the bloom of youth, and was remarkable for the beauty of his perſon, his affability, and bravery. Hence he found himſelf ſuddenly poſſeſſed of the favour of the public; and being full of ſpirit, reſolved to act no longer within the narrow limits to which his father confined himſelf, and which had been ſo prejudicial to his cauſe. He reſolved to inſiſt openly on his claim, and to aſſume the name and dignity of king; and from thenceforward to treat all the oppoſite party as traitors and rebels. But as the appearance of a national conſent ſeemed neceſſary to precede this bold meaſure, and as the aſſembling of a parliament might be attended with inconveniencies, he ordered his army to aſſemble in the fields, when a great multitude of people encompaſſing this body of forces, he cauſed a ſpeech to be pronounced to this mixed multitude, in which his title was urged, and reflections caſt on the uſurpation and tyranny of the royal family. After this the people were aſked, whether they would ſtill have Henry of Lancaſter king? When having univerſally ſhewn their diſlike to this propoſal, it was demanded, whether they would accept of Edward, the late duke of York's eldeſt ſon? To this they gave their conſent with loud and joyful acclamations. This ſtep being taken, a great council was called of all the biſhops, lords, magiſtates, and other perſons in and about London, who aſſembled at Baynard's caſtle, where, on the 5th of March

1461,

1461, the popular election was ratified, and the new king was the next day proclaimed in London, by the name of Edward the Fourth.

Thus ended the reign of Henry the Sixth, after it had laſted thirty-eight years and a half, without his having ever interfered with the adminiſtration of the government. While an infant in his cradle, he had been proclaimed king both in England and France; thus at the beginning of his life the brighteſt proſpects opened before him. But he was unable to take advantage of them; a natural imbecility, which rendered him unable to govern, was his great and only defect. His affairs, while he was an infant, were in a proſperous ſtate, from their being managed by his uncles, the dukes of Bedford and Glouceſter, princes of the greateſt abilities, who had his intereſt at heart, till their meaſures were defeated by faction. His capacity appears to have been too deficient for him to ſee the conſequences of thoſe counſels that were given him, which to him appeared to be always good; yet he was chaſte, temperate, and religious: he abhorred cruelty and injuſtice; and theſe virtues would have rendered him an accompliſhed prince, had he been bleſſed with mental abilities, and a proper degree of courage. His incapacity rendered him contemptible to his ſubjects, but his innocence of life, never ſuffered their contempt to turn into hatred.

MISCEL-

MISCELLANEOUS INCIDENTS.

The firſt inſtance of a debt contracted upon parliamentary ſecurity is found in this reign. In the 8th and 10th years of this king, laws were enacted for the due election of members of parliament in the counties, limiting the elections to ſuch as poſſeſſed forty ſhilling a year in land, free from all burthen within the county, a ſum equivalent to near twenty pounds a year of our preſent money.

It is remarkable, that in the firſt parliament of this reign, the queen's mother came and ſat among the lords, with the young king in her lap.

It was enacted by parliament in the 23d year of this reign, that when wheat was ſold for ſix ſhillings and eight pence a quarter, money of that age, rye at four ſhillings, and barley at three ſhillings and four pence, it ſhould be lawful to export corn into foreign parts without licence. In 1454, there was ſuch plenty of corn, that a quarter of wheat was commonly ſold for twelve or fourteen pence; and a quarter of malt for ſixteen or ſeventeen pence, the money of that age.

In this reign the art of printing was diſcovered at Mentz, in Germany, by John Guttenberg.

CHAP.

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EDWARD IV.

CHAP. IV.

EDWARD IV.

The Battle of Towton. Of the State of Scotland. Henry and Margaret eſcape thither. Edward aſſembles a Parliament. The Battle of Hexham, by which Margaret is reduced to the moſt ſingular Diſtreſs. Henry taken and impriſoned in the Tower. The King marries the Lady Elizabeth Gray, while Warwick was concluding a treaty of Marriage between him and the Queen of France's Siſter. An Alliance concluded with the Duke of Burgundy. The Battle of Banbury. Warwick and Clarence fly to France, and enter into an Alliance with Margaret; they return; Edward is expelled and Henry reſtored. Edward IV. *returns. The Battle of Barnet, in which Warwick is ſlain. That of Tewkeſbury, and the Murder of Prince Edward. The Death of Henry* VI. *The Invaſion of France, and the Peace of Pecquigny. The Execution of Clarence. Edward's Death and Character. Miſcellaneous Incidents.*

THE young king, who was at this time in the twentieth year of his age, was of a diſpoſition very different from that of his father, and ſeemed formed for thoſe ſcenes of war and ſlaughter he was to paſs through before

fore he could be firmly ſeated in the throne; for at the ſame time that he was bold and enterprizing, he had a hardneſs of heart, that ſeemed to render him incapable of compaſſion. At the very beginning of his reign, he gave proofs of his ſanguinary diſpoſition. A London tradeſman, who kept ſhop at the ſign of the crown, ſaying, that he would make his ſon heir to the crown; this innocent pleaſantry being ſuppoſed to be uttered in deriſion of Edward's aſſumed title, he was condemned and executed for this harmleſs expreſſion. In this reign the people, who were divided in their affections, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by party ſymbols: thoſe of the houſe of Lancaſter chuſing the red roſe by way of diſtinction, and the partizans of the houſe of York that of the white. Hence theſe civil wars bore the name throughout all Europe, of the quarrel between the two roſes.

As the city of London was filled with terror and averſion to Margaret, on account of the licenſe in which ſhe had indulged her troops, ſhe naturally retired to her partizans in the north; and ſuch multitudes flocked to her ſtandard, that in a few days ſhe found herſelf at the head of an army of 60,000. Edward and the earl of Warwick haſted to check her progreſs; and on their reaching Pontefract, in Yorkſhire, ſent lord Fitzwalter to ſecure the paſſage of Ferrybridge upon the Are, which was neceſſary to be paſſed, in order to come up with his enemies. Fitzwalter took poſſeſſion of that poſt, but was unable to maintain it againſt

gainſt lord Clifford, who attacking him with ſuperior numbers, Fitzwalter was ſlain, and his troops driven back with great ſlaughter.

At this time the earl of Warwick was conſidered as the ſoul of Edward's army; and while the king was looked upon as a brave young prince, but without experience, that earl was conſidered as the real general. All eyes were therefore fixed upon him, to ſee, by his countenance, whether there was reaſon to hope or fear. Warwick, dreading the conſequences of this loſs in the deciſive action that was hourly expected, ordered his horſe to be brought, and ſtabbing him before the whole army, kiſſed the hilt of his ſword, which was in the form of a croſs, and ſwore, that though they ſhould all fly, he alone would defend the king's cauſe. To ſhew the greater ſecurity, a proclamation was inſtantly iſſued, in which every one had full liberty to retire; but thoſe were threatened with the ſevereſt puniſhment who, in the enſuing battle, ſhould diſcover any ſymptoms of cowardice. At the ſame time lord Falconbridge was ordered to paſs the Are at Caſtleford, about three miles above Ferrybridge, and to retake the poſt which the enemy had won; and he attacking Clifford by ſurprize, revenged the former loſs by the defeat of the party, and the death of their leader.

Edward having thus regained the paſs of Ferrybridge, the hoſtile armies met in the fields between Towton and Saxton, on the 29th of March 1461. While the Yorkiſts were advancing

vancing to the charge, a great ſnow beginning to fall, drove full in the face of the Lancaſtrians, which diſordered their fight in ſuch a manner, that they were unable to judge of the diſtance between themſelves and the enemy; an advantage which Falconbridge improved. He ordered ſome infantry to advance before the line, and let fly a ſhower of arrows amidſt the enemy, and then retire. The Lancaſtrians ſuppoſing, that they were within reach of the oppoſite army, diſcharged all their arrows without having done the leaſt execution. After the quivers of the enemy were emptied, Falconbridge again advanced with his archers, and with impunity ſlew a vaſt number of the diſmayed Lancaſtrians: the bow was, however, ſoon laid aſide, and the ſword decided the combat, in which Edward and Warwick diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their courage, activity, and conduct; and obtained a complete victory over the Lancaſtrians. Great numbers of whom fell in the field of battle, and in the purſuit; but the principal ſlaughter was at the ſmall river Coc, which falls into the Wharf. The fugitives fled thither, in hopes of fording the ſtream; but it was ſo ſwelled with the rain and ſnow, as to be impaſſable, till a kind of bridge or mound was formed by the dead bodies of the Lancaſtrians, who were ſlain on the banks, or drowned in the river, which is ſaid to have changed its colour, from the quantity of blood that was ſpilt; a circumſtance that appears the more credible, from there being above 36,000 men killed in the battle and purſuit. A-

mong

mong the ſlain were the earl of Weſtmoreland, and Sir John Nevil, his brother, the earl of Northumberland, the lords Dacres and Welles, and Sir Andrew Trollop. The earl of Devonſhire, who had now ſided with Henry, was taken priſoner, and ſoon after beheaded at York. His head was then fixed on a pole, and placed over one of the gates; and the head of duke Richard, and that of the earl of Saliſbury, were now taken down, and buried with their bodies. During the action, Henry and Margaret had remained at York; but on hearing of the defeat of their army, they fled with the utmoſt ſpeed into Scotland, accompanied by the duke of Exeter, who, notwithſtanding his having married Edward's ſiſter, had joined the Lancaſtrians; and by Henry, duke of Somerſet, who had the command in the above unfortunate battle, and was the ſon of that Somerſet who was ſlain in the firſt battle of St. Albans.

It will be proper here to take ſome notice of the ſtate of affairs in Scotland for ſome time paſt. That kingdom had taken no advantage either of the wars carried on between England and France, or of the civil wars between the contending families of York and Lancaſter. James the Firſt, who was more wiſely employed in civilizing his ſubjects, took care to avoid entering into hoſtilities with foreign nations; and though it appeared for his intereſt to maintain a balance between France and England, he had given no farther aſſiſtance to the former, amidſt its greateſt diſtreſſes, than permitting

his ſubjects to enliſt in the French ſervice. After that excellent prince's murder, the minority of James II. his ſon and ſucceſſor, obliged the Scots to obſerve the ſame neutrality. But when the quarrel between the houſes of York and Lancaſter could be no otherwiſe appeaſed, but by the entire extinction of one party, James, who had riſen to man's eſtate, endeavoured to recover the places which had been formerly conquered from his anceſtors by the Engliſh. In 1460 he laid ſiege to the caſtle of Roxborough, againſt which he brought a ſmall train of artillery; but his cannon were ſo ill conſtructed, that on his attempting to fire one of them, it burſt, and killed him in the flower of his age. James III. his ſon and ſucceſſor, was alſo, on his acceſſion, a minor; and the government was involved in the uſual diſtractions: Anne of Gueldres, the queen dowager, aſpiring to the regency, was oppoſed by the family of Douglas. Hence queen Margaret, on her flying into Scotland, found the people almoſt as much divided by faction as the Engliſh; and though ſhe pleaded the connections between the royal family of that kingdom and the houſe of Lancaſter, by the young king's grand-mother being a daughter of the earl of Somerſet, the council of Scotland only expreſſed their good wiſhes in her favour: but ſhe no ſooner offered to deliver to them the important fortreſs of Berwick, and to marry her ſon to king James's ſiſter, than they promiſed to aſſiſt her with forces,

forces, in order to replace her family on the throne.

In the mean while Edward, not thinking it neceſſary to purſue the king and queen, returned to London, and ſummoned a parliament for ſettling the government. Edward found on their meeting the good effects of the vigour with which he had ſeized the crown, and of his victory at Towton, by which it was ſecured: without heſitating between the two families, they acknowledged Edward's title by hereditary deſcent; and declared, that he was in poſſeſſion of the crown from the day he aſſumed the government, tendered to him by the acclamations of the people. They expreſſed their abhorrence of the uſurpation of the earl of Derby, otherwiſe called Henry IV. which they obſerved had been attended with the murder of the ſovereign, and the oppreſſion of the people. They annulled all the grants paſſed in that and the following reigns; reinſtated Edward in all the poſſeſſions enjoyed by the king at the pretended depoſition of Richard the Second; and reverſed all attainders paſſed in parliament, particularly that of the earl of Cambridge, the king's grand-father, with that of the earls of Glouceſter and Saliſbury, and of lord Lumley, whoſe eſtates had been forfeited for their adhering to king Richard. They alſo paſſed an act of forfeiture and attainder againſt Henry VI. queen Margaret, and prince Edward, their infant ſon; this attainder was extended to the dukes of Somerſet and Exeter; to the earls of Northumberland, Pembroke,

Devonſhire, and Wilts; to viſcount Beaumont, and many other peers and perſons of diſtinction; all whoſe eſtates they veſted in the crown, though their only crime was their adhering to a prince, whom every individual of the two houſes of parliament had long acknowledged, and whom the ſovereign, then ſeated on the throne, had acknowledged and obeyed as his lawful king.

Other acts of violence may, in ſome meaſure, be juſtified by Edward's being under the neceſſity of ſupporting the government, tho' the method in which they were conducted was extremely illegal. Thus John, earl of Oxford, and his ſon Aubrey de Vere, having entered into a ſecret correſpondence with Margaret, were detected, and being tried by martial law, were condemned and executed. In the ſame arbitrary court Sir Thomas Tudenham, Sir William Tyrrel, and John Montgomery, were convicted and executed; and all the eſtates of the above noblemen and gentlemen were forfeited. As the nation was now become jealous of its liberties, this introduction of martial law muſt have been conſidered as a high ſtrain of prerogative, and have filled the minds of the people with diſſatisfaction.

The nation began now to be diſturbed, not only by domeſtic diſcontents, but by the efforts of foreign princes, Lewis XI. who, in 1460, had ſucceeded his father Charles, was induced, from motives of intereſt, to feed the flame of diſcord, by ſupporting the weaker party. But his politic genius was checked; for having attempted

tempted to break the independent ſpirit of his great vaſſals at home, he was unable to take all the advantage he might have done of the diſſenſions in England. He, however, ſent a ſmall body to the aſſiſtance of Henry, under the command of Varenne, ſeneſchal of Normandy, who, in 1462, landed in Northumberland, and ſeized the caſtle of Alnwick. Margaret, diſſatisfied with this feeble aſſiſtance, and indefatigable in her endeavours to regain the crown, went herſelf to France, and ſoliciting a larger ſupply, endeavoured to allure Lewis, by the promiſe of delivering up Calais, if by his means her family ſhould be reſtored to the throne; this induced him to ſend with her a body of two thouſand men at arms, which might have enabled her to take the field. But on her landing at Tinmouth, finding herſelf in danger of being ſurrounded by Edward's troops, ſhe was obliged to return with the utmoſt precipitation on board her ſhips; when a ſtorm immediately ariſing, her ſhip was ſeparated from the reſt, and with great difficulty reached the harbour of Berwick, while the other veſſels were driven towards Bamburg, where the French attempted to land; but being oppoſed by Ogle, who was at the head of ſomes forces, they retired to the ſmall iſland Lindisfarne, where Ogle again attacking them, they were all ſlain or taken priſoners except de Brezé, their commander, who made his eſcape to Berwick in a fiſhing-boat.

Edward ſuppoſing that Margaret would now obtain ſuccours from Scotland, with which

ſhe would invade the northern counties, detached lord Montague, the earl of Warwick's brother, with a few forces that were at hand, to retard her progreſs, till he himſelf ſhould follow with a numerous fleet and army. Margaret had, indeed, entered Northumberland with a body of free-booters, who enliſted on the promiſe of being allowed to plunder; and her army being greatly increaſed, ſhe was joined by the duke of Somerſet and Sir Ralph Piercy. Montague having advanced to Durham, halted till he received a reinforcement, and then continuing his march, on the 25th of April 1464, encountered a detachment of the enemy's army, commanded by the lords Hungerford and Roos, on Hedgeley Moor, where they were defeated, and Sir Ralph Piercy ſlain.

Montague was ſo elated with this ſucceſs, that, while a numerous reinforcement was on their march to join him, he ventured, with his own troops alone, to attack the Lancaſtrians, on the 15th of May, at Hexham, and obtained a complete victory. The duke of Somerſet, the lord Roos and Hungerford, were taken in the purſuit, and immediately beheaded by martial law at Hexham; and ſoon after Sir Humphrey Nevil and ſeveral other gentlemen were beheaded at Newcaſtle. All who were ſpared in the field, ſuffered on the ſcaffold, and their eſtates were diſtributed among the victors.

By this defeat the royal family were reduced to the moſt ſingular diſtreſs. Margaret fled with

with her ſon on foot, and without any attendants into a foreſt, where ſhe ſtrove to conceal herſelf. She was there deſtitute of food and of every accommodation. The night came on, and ſhe continued rambling in the dark, ready to ſink with fatigue. In the midſt of the night ſhe was attacked by robbers, who being either ignorant or regardleſs of her quality, took her rings and jewels, and treated her with the utmoſt indignity. While ſhe ſtood before them, filled with dread at what ſhe might farther ſuffer, the robbers quarrelling at the diviſion of their rich booty, gave her an opportunity of eſcaping with her ſon into the thickeſt part of the foreſt, where ſhe ſtill wandered, tired and ſpent with hunger, and her mind filled with terror and affliction. While ſhe was in this wretched ſituation, ſhe beheld another robber approach her with his naked ſword in his hand; when, perceiving that ſhe had no means of eſcape, ſhe ſuddenly ſummoned all her courage and reſolution, and reſolved to truſt to his generoſity for her protection. She advanced towards him, and preſenting to him the young prince, ſaid, "Here, my friend, I commit to your care the "ſafety of the ſon of your king." The man, ſtruck with the ſingularity of the event, and charmed with the confidence repoſed in him, vowed, that he would not only abſtain from doing her any injury, but devote himſelf entirely to her ſervice. He happened to be one of thoſe who had been out-lawed for adhering to Henry; he therefore concealed her for ſome time

time in a hut in the foreſt, and at laſt conducted her to the ſea coaſt, whence he eſcaped with her into Flanders, where ſhe was hoſpitably received by the duke of Burgundy, and from his court, ſhe went to that of her father's, where ſhe lived ſeveral years in privacy and retirement.

Henry was not ſo fortunate, though he had the happineſs to eſcape into Scotland; for the Scots concluding a truce with Edward, he, finding himſelf abandoned by his friends, thought his perſon unſafe at Edinburgh, and therefore took the imprudent reſolution of leaving that city in diſguiſe, attended by three divines. He reached Waddington Hall in Lancaſhire, were he was for twelve months concealed, but was at length diſcovered by Sir James Harrington, who ſeized the unfortunate prince as he ſat at dinner, and cauſed him to be placed upon a horſe, with his legs tied under the beaſt's belly, as if he had been the vileſt malefactor; and in this manner he was conducted to London, delivered up to Edward, and confined in the Tower.

The expulſion of Margaret, Henry's impriſonment, with the execution and confiſcation of the eſtates of almoſt all the conſiderable Lancaſtrians, appeared now to have firmly eſtabliſhed Edward in the poſſeſſion of the throne; his claim by blood being acknowledged by parliament, and ſubmitted to by the people, he was no longer in danger of having any antagoniſt to diſpute his title. The king, in the midſt of this proſperous ſituation, indulged,

dulged, without controul, the pleaſures which he was invited to enjoy by his youth, his high fortune, and his natural diſpoſition; and he attended leſs to the cares of royalty than to the gratification of his paſſions. His cruel and unrelenting ſpirit was capable of the ſofter paſſions, which had a great influence over him. During this interval of peace, Edward lived in the moſt familiar manner with his ſubjects, and in particular with the citizens of London. The beauty of his perſon, added to the gallantry of his addreſs, rendered him acceptable to the ladies, and enabled him to obtain their favour. This courſe of life daily encreaſed his popularity among perſons of all ranks; and he was the favourite of the young and gay of both ſexes. The Engliſh, little inclined to jealouſy, were not offended at theſe liberties; and his gallantries, while they gratified his paſſions, became, undeſignedly, the means of ſupporting him on the throne. But it being extremely difficult to confine a ruling paſſion within the bounds of prudence, Edward was led, by his amorous temper, into a ſnare, which proved fatal to his repoſe, and endangered his crown.

Edward, deſirous of ſecuring his throne, both by the proſpect of iſſue and by foreign alliances, had caſt his eye on Bona of Savoy, the queen of France's ſiſter, whom he was rather inclined to marry, as it would enſure the friendſhip of that power which was beſt able to ſupport or injure him. To render this negociation ſucceſsful, he ſent the earl of Warwick

wick to Paris, where the princeſs reſided; and that great nobleman having demanded Bona in marriage for the king, the propoſal was accepted, the treaty concluded, and nothing remained but the ratification of this treaty, and bringing the princeſs to England.

This affair, which appeared to be ſo happily completed, was attended with fatal conſequences. Jaqueline of Luxemburg, dutcheſs of Bedford, had, after the death of her huſband, ſacrificed her ambition to love, and married Sir Richard Wideville, a private gentleman, by whom ſhe had ſeveral children; and among the reſt, Elizabeth, who was diſtinguiſhed by the charms of her perſon, and her many accompliſhments. This young lady had been eſpouſed to Sir John Gray of Groby, and had children by him; but her huſband being ſlain, while fighting on the ſide of the Lancaſtrians, in the ſecond battle of St. Albans, his eſtate had been confiſcated, and his lovely widow lived with her father at his ſeat of Graſton in Northamptonſhire. While the earl of Warwick was engaged in the above negociation, the king, after being hunting, came to the houſe to pay a viſit to the dutcheſs of Bedford. This affording a favourable opportunity, the young widow threw herſelf at his feet, and entreated him, with a flood of tears, to have compaſſion on her impoveriſhed and diſtreſſed children. The amorous Edward, affected by the ſight of afflicted beauty, was at once filled with love and compaſſion. He raiſed her from the floor with the moſt ardent aſſurances of favour; and entering

tering into converſation with this amiable lady, found his paſſion encreaſe every moment, and was ſoon induced to become a ſupplicant to her; but either averſe from her ſenſe of duty, to diſhonourable love, or perceiving that ſhe had made ſuch an impreſſion on his heart, as to give her hopes of obtaining the higheſt elevation, ſhe ſteadily refuſed to gratify his paſſion; and all his careſſes and importunities were incapable of ſubduing her inflexible virtue. Edward's love, increaſed by oppoſition, and by the honourable ſentiments ſhe expreſſed, ſoon knew no bounds, and he offered to ſhare his heart and throne with one, who, from her beauty and diſtinguiſhed perfections, appeared to merit both. The marriage was privately celebrated in the ſame houſe, but was for ſome time carefully concealed, and none ſuſpected, that a prince of ſo libertine a diſpoſition could be capable of ſo romantic a paſſion.

The ſecret of Edward's marriage reached the ears of the earl of Warwick, at the time when he had juſt concluded the above treaty for the marriage of Edward with Bona, and thinking himſelf affronted in the higheſt degree, by his being employed in this deceitful negociation, which he conſidered as a flagrant proof of ingratitude, in a prince whom he had raiſed to the throne, immediately communicated his ſentiments to the French king, who inſtantly becoming incenſed againſt Edward for the outrage offered to his family, encouraged and fomented the earl's indignation, though his own affairs would not allow him publickly

publickly to ſhew his reſentment. The earl immediately returned to England, inflamed with rage and indignation. Had Edward condeſcended to acknowledge his error, and apologize for his weakneſs, by pleading the violence of his paſſion, all might have been well: but his pride prevented his even mentioning the affair to Warwick; and he was ſuffered to leave the court, full of the ſame ill humour with which he entered it.

The breach between Edward and this powerful ſubject was ſoon widened by a variety of incidents. The queen was ſolicitous to procure every favour for her own relations and friends, and to exclude thoſe of the earl of Warwick, whom ſhe conſidered as her enemy. Her father was not only created earl of Rivers, but made treaſurer in the room of lord Mountjoy, and inveſted with the office of conſtable for life. Her brother received the ſurvivance of that high dignity; was married to the only daughter of lord Scales; enjoyed the great eſtate poſſeſſed by that family, and had the title of lord Scales conferred upon him: Catharine, the queen's ſiſter, eſpouſed the young duke of Buckingham, who was a ward of the crown: her ſiſter Mary was married to William Herbert, created earl of Huntingdon; and her ſiſter Anne was married to the ſon and heir of Gray, lord Ruthyn, created earl of Kent; Sir Thomas Gray, one of the queen's ſons, by her former huſband, was contracted to the king's niece, the daughter and heireſs of the duke of Exeter; and as lord Montague was treating

of a marriage between his ſon and this lady, the preference given to young Gray was reſented by the whole family of Nevil.

The earl of Warwick could not patiently bear the leaſt diminution of that honour and reſpect which he juſtly claimed from his important ſervices. Indeed the grants he received from the crown brought him in, beſides his patrimonial eſtate, a revenue of 80,000 crowns; yet he could not bear to ſee others enjoy a ſuperior authority and influence with the king. On the other hand, Edward, jealous of the power by which he had been ſupported, was glad to raiſe up rivals to the earl; and thus from political views to juſtify to himſelf his extreme partiality to the queen's relations. But the Engliſh nobility, who envied the ſudden growth of the Widevilles, were more diſpoſed to join in the diſcontent of Warwick, to whoſe grandeur they were already accuſtomed, and who, by his graceful and popular manners, had reconciled them to his ſuperiority. Beſides, as the king obtained from parliament a general reſumption of all the grants he had made ſince his acceſſion, by which the crown had been extremely impoveriſhed, with ſome exceptions, particularly in favour of the earl of Warwick; this gave a general alarm to the nobility; and many of the partizans of the family of York being thus injured, were filled with reſentment.

The moſt conſiderable perſon that joined Warwick's party was George duke of Clarence, the king's ſecond brother; who, from the un-

controuled influence of the queen and her friends, thought himſelf no leſs injured than the other nobles; and his fortune being ſtill on a precarious footing, while theirs were completely ſettled, this, added to his reſtleſs diſpoſition, inclined him to join the malecontents. The earl of Warwick, obſerving this favourable opportunity of gaining him, offered him his eldeſt daughter in marriage, who was the coheireſs of his immenſe fortunes, a ſuperior ſettlement to any which even the king himſelf could confer upon him; and thus inſtantly attached him to his party. A dangerous and extenſive combination was ſoon inſenſibly formed againſt the king and his miniſtry; and though they had no deſigns of overturning the throne, it was impoſſible to foreſee the extremities to which they might be carried.

Edward, to ſhelter himſelf from the cloud that was gathering at home, endeavoured to enter into foreign alliances. The more the dark and dangerous ambition of Lewis XI. was known, the greater alarm it excited among his vaſſals and neighbours; for his abilities, unreſtrained by the principles of faith and humanity, afforded them no ſecurity, but in combining againſt him. Philip, duke of Burgundy, being now dead, Charles, his only ſon, was poſſeſſed of his rich and extenſive dominions; and, from his martial diſpoſition, he obtained the ſurname of the Bold. There was a natural antipathy between him and Lewis; and Edward might have ſecured the attachment of either of them, by declaring againſt the other.

other. As the duke of Burgundy was deſcended, on his mother's ſide, from John of Gaunt, he might have been ſuppoſed to favour the houſe of Lancaſter; but political motives eaſily over-ballanced this conſideration. Charles therefore, perceiving that the intereſt of that houſe was declined in England, ſent his natural brother, uſually called the Baſtard of Burgundy, in his name, with propoſals of marriage to Margaret, Edward's ſiſter. The king, pleaſed with ſtrengthening himſelf by gaining ſo powerful a confederate, ſoon concluded the alliance, and beſtowed his ſiſter upon Charles the Bold. Edward, at the ſame time, concluded an alliance with the duke of Britanny, which alſo ſeemed to encreaſe his ſecurity.

The benefit that might have been reaped from theſe alliances was, however, ſoon fruſtrated by inteſtine commotions. Theſe did not immediately ariſe from the earl of Warwick's intrigues, but from an accident, and the geral diſcontent which prevailed among the people of the north. By an ancient grant of king Athelſtan, the hoſpital of St. Leonards, near York, had received a right of levying a thrave of corn from every plough-land in the county: but as all charitable foundations are liable to be abuſed, the people complained that the revenue of the hoſpital, inſtead of being applied to the relief of the poor, was ſecreted by the managers. They, therefore, after long repining at the contribution, refuſed to pay it. Eccleſiaſtical and civil cenſures were then iſſued againſt them: their goods were diſtrained, and they

themſelves thrown into jail; till at length riſing in arms, they fell upon the officers of the hoſpital, whom they ſlew; and aſſembling in a body, which amounted to fifteen thouſand, marched towards York. Their progreſs was oppoſed by lord Montague, who commanded in thoſe parts, and having ſeized in a ſkirmiſh Robert Hulderne, their leader, he, according to the practice of the times, ordered him to be immediately led to execution.

The rebels ſtill continuing in arms, were ſoon headed by perſons of greater diſtinction, particularly by Sir Henry Nevil, the ſon of lord Latimer, and Sir John Coniers, and advancing ſouthwards, Herbert, earl of Pembroke, was ordered by Edward to march againſt them, at the head of a body of Welchmen. He was ſoon after joined by five thouſand archers, commanded by Stafford, earl of Devonſhire. But thoſe two noblemen quarrelling about a trifling difference, in relation to quarters, the earl of Devonſhire retired with his archers, and left Pembroke to oppoſe the rebels.

The two armies approached each other near Banbury, when Pembroke prevailing in a ſkirmiſh, took Sir Henry Nevil priſoner, and immediately ordered him to be put to death. The rebels, who were enraged without being terrified, attacked the Welch army, routed them, and giving no quarter, made a terrible ſlaughter. They ſeized the earl of Pembroke, and immediately took revenge upon him for the death of their leader. This battle was fought on the 26th of July, 1469. Edward imputing the

loſs

loſs of this battle to the earl of Devonſhire's having deſerted Pembroke, ordered him to be executed in the ſame ſummary manner. Theſe ſpeedy executions did not ſtop here: a party of the northern rebels being ſent to Grafton, ſeized the earl of Rivers, and his ſon John, who had become obnoxious by their near relationſhip to the queen, and the king's partiality to them; and, by the orders of Sir John Coniers, they were immediately executed.

It is certain, that during the commencement of this rebellion, the earl of Warwick reſided with his ſon-in-law, the duke of Clarence, in his government at Calais; and as his brother Montague acted with vigour againſt the northern rebels, it is probable that this inſurrection did not proceed from the ſecret councils of the earl of Warwick. Soon after, both he and Clarence came over to England, and offering their ſervice to Edward, were not only received without ſuſpicion, but entruſted with the higheſt commands, and ſtill perſevered their fidelity. After this inſurrection, there was an interval of peace, during which Edward loaded the family of Nevil with the higheſt honours: he created lord Montague a marquis, and made his ſon George duke of Bedford: he even publickly declared his intention of marrying that young nobleman to Elizabeth his eldeſt daughter, who, as he had yet no ſon, was preſumptive heir of the crown. The friendly intercourſe which now ſubſiſted between the king and theſe nobles, was broken by an artifice of the miniſtry. While Edward reſided at Langley in Hertfordſhire, he was in-

vited by the archbiſhop of York to an entertainment at his ſeat at Morepark, in that neighbourhood; and when the gueſts, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, were employed in waſhing their hands before ſupper, John Ratcliffe, afterwards lord Fitzwalter, privately told the king, that the archbiſhop had aſſembled an hundred men at arms, in order to ſieze his perſon, and convey him to Middleham caſtle. Edward, alarmed at this falſe intelligence, made a pretence to go out, and mounting his horſe, rode full ſpeed to Windſor. The king's abrupt departure was conſtrued into a groſs affront, both by the archbiſhop, Warwick, and Clarence, who imagined it to be a ſcheme, concerted to fix the imputation of perfidy on them and their adherents; and this ſerved to rekindle their former animoſities.

In 1470, another rebellion broke out in Lincolnſhire, at the head of which was Sir Robert Welles, ſon of the nobleman of that name. His army amounted to thirty thouſand men; but lord Welles himſelf was ſo far from countenancing this rebellion, that he fled into the ſanctuary at Weſtminſter, to ſecure his perſon from the king's anger or ſuſpicions; but was allured to leave his retreat by a promiſe of ſafety; yet notwithſtanding this aſſurance, Edward cauſed him to be beheaded along with Sir Thomas Dymock. Soon after, the king fought a battle with the rebels, and having defeated them, took Sir Robert Welles and Sir Thomas Launde priſoners, and cauſed them alſo to be immediately executed.

During

During theſe tranſactions, Edward was ſo far from having entertained any jealouſy of Warwick and his brother, the duke of Clarence, that he granted them commiſſions of array for levying forces againſt the rebels: but they no ſooner left the court, than they raiſed troops in their own names, and iſſued declarations, complaining of grievances, oppreſſions, and bad miniſters. All their meaſures being diſconcerted by the unexpected defeat of Welles, they retired northwards into Lancaſhire, in expectation of being joined by lord Stanley, who had married the earl of Warwick's ſiſter: but that nobleman refuſing to join them, and lord Montague remaining quiet in Yorkſhire, they diſbanded their army, and flying into Devonſhire, embarked for Calais. Mean while the king cauſed a proclamation to be publiſhed, offering a reward of a thouſand pounds, or a hundred pounds a year in land, to any that would ſeize them.

Warwick had left at Calais one Vaucler, a Gaſcon, as his deputy governor, who, on ſeeing him return, refuſed him admittance, and would not even permit the dutcheſs of Clarence to land, though ſhe had been a few days before delivered of a ſon on ſhip board, and was then extremely diſordered by ſickneſs. He was even with difficulty prevailed on to conſent to a few flaggons of wine being carried to the ſhip for the uſe of the ladies: but being well acquainted with the revolutions to which England was ſubject, ſecretly apologized to Warwick, repreſenting that this was entirely done from

from his great zeal for his ſervice. He alledged, that the town was ill provided with proviſions; that the garriſon could not be depended on; that the inhabitants, who ſubſiſted by their trade with England, would declare for the eſtabliſhed government; that the town was at preſent unable to reſiſt either the power of Edward, or the duke of Burgundy; and that, by appearing to declare for the king, he ſhould obtain his confidence, and ſtill keep that fortreſs in his power, till it ſhould be ſafe and prudent to reſtore it to the earl. Warwick pretended to be fully convinced, and having ſeized ſome Flemiſh veſſels that lay off Calais, ſailed to another part of France.

The French king, who had been uneaſy at the cloſe connection which now ſubſiſted between Edward and the duke of Burgundy, received the unfortunate Warwick with the greateſt demonſtrations of friendſhip and regard, hoping, by his means, to overturn the government of England, and reſtore the houſe of Lancaſter. The moſt extreme animoſity had long ſubſiſted between that houſe and the earl of Warwick. Margaret had cauſed his father's head to be placed on the walls of York: he himſelf had twice made Henry his priſoner; obliged the queen to fly the kingdom, and cauſed their moſt zealous partizans to loſe their lives in the field or on the ſcaffold. Hence imagining, that it was impoſſible ſuch inveterate hatred ſhould ever admit of a cordial reconciliation, he avoided mentioning Henry's name, and rather choſe to prevail by means

means of his own adherents, than to revive a party which he ſincerely deteſted. But Lewis induced him, by his entreaties, to liſten to terms of accommodation; and ſending for Margaret, who then reſided at Angers, their common intereſt ſoon produced an accommodation between them. It was ſtipulated, that Warwick ſhould endeavour to replace Henry on the throne; that during the minority of young Edward, Henry's ſon, the adminiſtration of the government ſhould be jointly entruſted to the earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence; that prince Edward ſhould eſpouſe the lady Anne, that nobleman's ſecond daughter; and in caſe that prince ſhould have no iſſue, the crown ſhould deſcend to the duke of Clarence, and Edward and his poſterity be entirely excluded. Immediately after the concluſion of this agreement, the young prince Edward was married to the lady Anne.

In the mean time Edward, reſolving to uſe his endeavours to diſſolve this unnatural alliance, ſent over a lady of great ſagacity and addreſs, who was one of the retinue of the dutcheſs of Clarence, to attend her miſtreſs. This lady repreſented to the duke, that he had unwarily thrown himſelf into the power of his moſt inveterate enemies; that the injuries the two royal families had ſuffered from each other, could never be forgiven or obliterated; and that the man who deſerted his own relations, and joined the murtherers of his father, muſt leave himſelf without a friend; and in the midſt of the misfortunes, which would inevitably

tably fall upon him, would loſe all the regard and pity of mankind. Clarence was then only twenty-one years of age, and though of a ſlender capacity, was able to ſee the force of theſe reaſons; and upon his receiving from his brother a promiſe of forgiveneſs, ſecretly engaged to ſeize the firſt favourable opportunity of deſerting the earl of Warwick and the Lancaſtrians.

At the ſame time Warwick carried on a ſecret correſpondence with his brother, the marquis of Montague, in which Edward placed great confidence, and the marquis, in order to render the projected blow the more fatal to Edward, determined alſo to watch a favourable opportunity for the commiſſion of his perfidy, and ſtill to appear a zealous partizan of the houſe of York.

Theſe mutual ſnares being thus artfully laid, Lewis offered the earl of Warwick a ſupply of men and money; and prepared a fleet to carry him back to England. On the other hand, the duke of Burgundy, exaſperated at Warwick for his ſeizing the Flemiſh ſhips before Calais, and ſolicitous to ſupport Edward on the throne of England, fitted out a larger fleet to guard the channel, and informed his brother-in-law of the dangers to which he was expoſed. Edward, inſenſible of his danger, did not properly prepare againſt the landing of the earl of Warwick, and even ſaid, that the duke might ſave himſelf the trouble of guarding the ſeas, ſince he wiſhed for nothing

thing more than to ſee Warwick landed in England.

If Edward was really deſirous of this event, he was ſoon gratified; for the Flemiſh navy being diſperſed by a ſtorm, Warwick ſeized the opportunity, and ſetting ſail, ſoon landed at Dartmouth with the duke of Clarence, the earls of Pembroke and Oxford, together with a ſmall body of troops: mean while Edward was in the north, where he was employed in ſuppreſſing an inſurrection raiſed by lord Fitz-Hugh, Warwick's brother in-law. The earl of Warwick's prodigious popularity, and the zeal of the Lancaſtrian party, now drew ſuch multitudes to his ſtandard, that in a few days he had an army of 60,000 men, which was continually increaſing. Edward haſted from the north to oppoſe him; and the two armies approached each other near Nottingham, where a deciſive battle was hourly expected. Warwick's rapid progreſs had rendered the duke of Clarence incapable of executing his plan of treachery; and the marquis of Montague had an opportunity of ſtriking the firſt blow. He engaged his adherents to promiſe him their concurrence; and, taking arms in the night, haſted with loud acclamations, of Long live king Henry, towards Edwards quarters. The king, alarmed at the unuſual noiſe, ſtarted from his bed, when the lords Haſtings, his chamberlain, informed him of his ſuppoſed danger, and urged him to make his eſcape by flight from an army, great part of which he imagined would revolt to the earl of Warwick. As

there

there was no time to be loſt, Edward inſtantly got on horſe-back, and without money or baggage, ſet out with eight hundred light-horſe for Lynne, in Norfolk, where he luckily found ſome ſhip's ready, on board of which he inſtantly embarked. Thus the earl of Warwick was, in eleven days after his firſt landing, maſter of the whole kingdom.

Edward's danger was not over on his ſetting ſail from England. The Eaſterlings, who were at war both with this kingdom and with France, had ſome ſhips hovering on the Engliſh coaſts, which, obſerving the king's veſſels, gave them chace; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that he eſcaped into the port of Alcmaer in Holland. As his precipitate flight had prevented his having any thing of value about him, he had nothing to give the captain of the veſſel that brought him over, but a robe lined with ſables, which he gave him, with a promiſe of a conſiderable reward, if fortune ſhould ever become more favourable.

Edward could not be very fond of appearing in this wretched condition before the duke of Burgundy; and at his having ſo ſuddenly fled, after his mighty boaſts, from his own kingdom, which would naturally expoſe him to ridicule. On the other hand, the duke was undetermined what reception to give to the dethroned monarch. As he had always a greater regard to the houſe of Lancaſter than to that of York, and had been engaged by political views alone to enter into an alliance with the latter, he dreaded, leſt the reigning family ſhould become his

his implacable enemy. He therefore began to ſay, that his connections were with the kingdom of England, not with the king; and that it was a matter of indifference to him, whether the name of Edward or Henry was inſerted in the treaty. Several events which followed ſerved to ſtrengthen theſe ſentiments. Tho' Vaucler, the deputy-governor of Calais, had been confirmed in his command by Edward; and though the duke of Burgundy had conferred on him a penſion, on account of his fidelity to the king, he no ſooner ſaw his old maſter Warwick poſſeſſed of his former authority, than, with great demonſtrations of zeal and attachment, he put the whole garriſon in his livery. Beſides the news which daily arrived from England, ſeemed to confirm the duke in the opinion, that the family of Lancaſter was firmly eſtabliſhed in the government.

In the morning after Edward's flight, his army ſubmitted to Warwick; and the whole kingdom being thus at that nobleman's diſpoſal, he inſtantly haſted to London, and releaſing Henry from his confinement in the Tower, in which he himſelf had been the principal cauſe of his being placed, he had him proclaimed king with great ſolemnity. A parliament was then ſummoned in Henry's name, to meet at Weſtminſter; and as the freedom of that aſſembly was entirely deſtroyed, by their being encompaſſed by the inſolent victors, with the impetuous Warwick at their head, their votes were entirely dictated by the ruling faction. His treaty with Margaret was ratified:

Henry was acknowledged lawful king; but on account of his incapacity for government, the regency was entrusted to Clarence and Warwick, till prince Edward, Henry's son, became of age; and if that prince died without issue, Clarence was declared successor to the crown. The usual business of reversals was carried on without opposition: every statute enacted during Edward's reign was repealed; he himself declared an usurper, and his adherents attainted; particularly his young brother Richard, duke of Gloucester: all the attainders of the Lancastrians were reversed, and all who had lost either their houses or fortunes by their former adherence to Henry's cause, were restored to both.

The only victim of distinction that fell a sacrifice to this revolution, was John Tibetot, earl of Worcester; a person of distinguished abilities, who, at a time when the nobility valued themselves on their ignorance, and left learning to the clergy, became the patron of science. This nobleman, who had enraged the Lancastrians by his severity against them, had endeavoured to conceal himself after Edward's flight; but being found on the top of a tree in Weybridge forest, was conducted to London, tried, condemned, and executed. All the other considerable Yorkists, either fled the kingdom, or sheltered themselves in sanctuaries, where they were protected by ecclesiastical privileges. It is computed, that in this manner, no less than two thousand persons saved themselves in London alone; and, among the rest, Edward's

queen,

queen, who had been delivered of a ſon, called by the name of his father.

Margaret, the other rival queen, was not yet arrived in England; but being informed of Warwick's ſucceſs, was preparing to embark, with her ſon prince Edward. All the Lancaſtrians who had been baniſhed flocked to her, particularly the duke of Somerſet, whoſe father had been beheaded after the battle of Hexham. This nobleman, who had for a conſiderable time been conſidered as the head of the party, had, on the defeat of his friends, fled into the Netherlands; where, concealing his name and quality, he lived in the utmoſt indigence, Philip de Comines informs us, that he ſaw both him and the duke of Exeter, in no better a condition than that of common beggars; but being diſcovered by the duke of Burgundy, they were allowed ſmall penſions, and were living in ſilence and obſcurity, when they were called from their retreat by the ſucceſs of their party. But both Margaret and Somerſet were prevented, by contrary winds, from returning to England, till a new revolution, equally ſudden and ſurprizing, with the former, plunged them into greater miſery than that from which they had juſt emerged.

The earl of Warwick, who had too haſtily conſidered the duke of Burgundy as a determined enemy, had ſent to Calais a body of four thouſand men, who ravaged the Netherlands: on which the duke finding himſelf in danger of being cruſhed by the united arms of England and France, determined to give ſome aſ-

ſiſtance to Edward his brother-in-law; and to do it in ſo concealed a manner, as to give the leaſt offence poſſible to the government of England. He therefore, in 1471, equipped four large veſſels at Terveer in Zealand, in the name of ſome private merchants; and hiring fourteen ſhips of the Eaſterlings or Hanſe-towns, committed this ſmall ſquadron, together with a ſum of money, to Edward, who immediately ſet ſail for England: but was no ſooner informed of his departure, than he publiſhed a proclamation, forbidding all his ſubjects to countenance or aſſiſt him.

Edward, eager to recover his loſt authority, and to be revenged on his enemies, endeavoured to land his troops, which amounted to no more than about two thouſand men, on the coaſt of Norfolk; but being repulſed, ſailed farther to the north, and landed at Ravenſpur in Yorkſhire. On perceiving that the new magiſtrates appointed by the earl of Warwick, prevented the people's joining him, he made oath, that he had no intention to obtain the crown, but only the inheritance of the houſe of York; and had no intention to raiſe a civil war. Upon this, his partizans flocked to his ſtandard. He was admitted into the city of York, and was ſoon in ſuch a ſituation as gave him hopes of aſcending the throne. Warwick aſſembled an army at Leiceſter, in order to meet and give him battle, but Edward taking another road, marched without moleſtation, and appeared before the gates of London. Had he been refuſed admittance, he muſt have been entirely

entirely ruined; but the citizens were induced by many reaſons to favour him. His many friends iſſued from their ſancturies, and were active in his cauſe. The rich merchants, of whom he had formerly borrowed money, ſaw no chance of their being ever paid, without he was reſtored; the ladies of the city, who had laviſhed their favours upon him, and ſtill retained their affection for this gallant prince, prevailed on their huſband's and friends to eſpouſe his cauſe; and the biſhop of York, Warwick's brother, to whom the care of the city was committed, had privately entered into a correſpondence with Edward, and facilitated his admiſſion into the capital. Edward's entrance into London not only made him maſter of that rich and powerful city, but of Henry's perſon; and thus that prince fell again into the hands of his implacable enemy.

The king now found himſelf able to face the earl of Warwick, who being reinforced by the duke of Clarence and the marquis of Montague, took his poſt at Barnet, near London. Margaret's arrival was daily expected, which would have brought a great acceſſion to Warwick's forces; but this induced the earl to come to a deciſive action, rather than to ſhare the victory with his ancient enemies, who he foreſaw would, in caſe of ſucceſs, claim the chief merit of the victory. But while his jealouſy was ſolely directed towards the partizans of the cauſe he had joined, he overlooked the infidelity of a friend. Clarence, his ſon-in-law, though he ſhared the power of the re-

gency, and had been inveſted by Warwick in all the honours and patrimony of the houſe of York, determined to fulfil his ſecret engagements to the king, his brother, and deſerted to him in the night with a body of twelve thouſand men.

Warwick was now advanced too far to retreat; and rejecting, with diſdain, all the terms of peace offered him by Edward and Clarence, reſolved to hazard a general engagement. Early in the morning of the 14th of April 1471, the action began with the utmoſt fury on both ſides. The troops of Warwick, though inferior in number to the enemy, foreſeeing, that if vanquiſhed, they ſhould be treated as rebels, fought with a deſperate reſolution; and the earl himſelf was reſolved to conquer or die. Such was their impetuoſity, that Edward's firſt line was obliged to give ground, and ſome of his cavalry riding full ſpeed to London, reported, that he was entirely defeated. In this emergency the king ordered his body of reſerve to advance, and charge the enemy in flank, an expedient the more ſucceſsful, as the earl of Oxford had puſhed the Yorkiſts ſo far, that Warwick's main body was left defenceleſs. That nobleman, on recollecting this circumſtance, wheeled about in order to reſume his ſtation, and that movement occaſioned the loſs of the battle. The device on his arms and enſigns was a ſtar with rays; and that of Edward the ſun. The miſtineſs of the morning rendered it difficult to diſtinguiſh them; and the earl of Oxford,

ford, who fought on the ſide of the Lancaſtrians, was, by miſtake, attacked by his own party, and driven off the field. Other parts of Warwick's army ſeeing them fly, imagined, that they had been attacked in the rear, and that they themſelves were conſequently ſurrounded: they were ſeized with conſternation; the pannic ſpread from rank to rank, and was followed by an univerſal confuſion. Edward, on ſeeing them in this diſorder, charged them with redoubled fury; and Warwick ſtrove in vain to rally and re-animate them by his own example. Contrary to his uſual practice, he, on that day, fought on foot, in order to ſhew his army, that he meant to ſhare in their fortune, and this contributed to his defeat; thus he was unable to be perſonally preſent wherever the men ſtood in need of his direction and aſſiſtance; and they were no longer encouraged by ſeeing him. He exerted his capacity, both as an officer and a hero, in ſeveral fruitleſs attempts; and then ruſhing into the hotteſt of the battle, fell, covered with wounds, while his brother Montague, by endeavouring to diſengage him, met with the ſame fate. The death of the two generals put an end to all oppoſition; and Edward, about noon, obtained a complete victory, five thouſand of his enemies being left dead in the field; for he had forbidden his ſoldiers to give quarter. The earl of Oxford eſcaped into Wales, where the earl of Pembroke was raiſing forces for Warwick's ſervice: the duke of Exeter was wounded, ſtripped, and left in the field for dead; yet

yet in the evening recovered his ſenſes, and crawled to the houſe of one Rutland, where he ſtaid till his wounds were healed; but being afterwards diſcovered, was impriſoned in the Tower. On the other hand, Edward loſt the lord Berners and fifteen hundred men. On the day after the battle, the king returned to London, and cauſed the naked bodies of Warwick and Montague to be expoſed in St. Paul's cathedral, whence they were carried to Biſham, in Berkſhire, and interred in the priory, founded by their anceſtors of the houſe of Montague.

Upon the very day on which this bloody battle was fought, queen Margaret, with her ſon, a young prince of great hopes, and of about eighteen years of age, landed at Weymouth with a ſmall body of French forces. On her receiving the news of Warwick's death, and of her huſband's captivity, all that courage, which had hitherto ſupported her amidſt ſuch a variety of diſaſtrous events, quite forſook her; and foreſeeing the fatal conſequences that would attend this calamity, ſhe took ſanctuary, with her ſon, in the abbey of Beaulieu, a Ciſterſian monaſtery in Hampſhire; but being ſoon encouraged by the appearance of Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, Tudor, earl of Pembroke, the lords Wenlock and St. John, with other perſons of rank, who perſuaded her ſtill to hope for ſucceſs, ſhe recovered her ſpirits, and reſolved to defend herſelf and ſon to the laſt extremity. She therefore took the field, and advanced through the counties

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of Devon and Somerſet; her army encreaſing on each day's march, till ſhe advanced to Tewkeſbury, in Glouceſterſhire, from whence ſhe propoſed to proceed into Wales, in order to join the earl of Pembroke.

Margaret's views were, however, defeated by Edward's vigilance and activity. He proſcribed her and her adherents by proclamation; and immediately proceeded towards the banks of the Severn, in order to force her to give him battle before ſhe ſhould be reinforced, by being joined by the earl of Pembroke. As ſhe was denied entrance into Glouceſter, where ſhe propoſed to croſs the river, ſhe marched with the ſame deſign to Tewkeſbury; but Edward was ſo cloſe at her heels, that ſhe could not paſs the Severn, without the danger of expoſing her rear to deſtruction; ſhe therefore called a council of war, in which it was reſolved, to intrench the army in a park which joined to the town, and remain in that ſituation till Pembroke's arrival. But Edward, on his approach, reſolved to attack the army in their intrenchments, before they ſhould be better fortified or reinforced. He drew up his forces in two lines, one commanded by his brother, the duke of Glouceſter, while he and Clarence took their ſtation in the other. The duke of Somerſet formed the queen's army into three lines, within the entrenchments, and commanded the van, in order to ſuſtain the firſt ſhock of the enemy. The ſecond line was commanded by the lord Wenlock, under the prince of Wales, who was conſidered as general

ral in chief; and the rear was under the command of the duke of Devonſhire.

Edward obſerving that Somerſet had left ſome openings in the front of the intrenchments, through which he propoſed to ſally, directed his brother Glouceſter, who began the attack, to decoy Somerſet out of his fortifications, by giving ground, and retreating with precipitation, till he had drawn the duke and his line into the open plain, and then to return and renew the charge, in which caſe he ſhould be properly ſuſtained. Glouceſter accordingly made a vigorous attack on the intrenchments, and meeting with a warm reception, retired with his troops in ſuch ſeeming hurry and confuſion, that the duke of Somerſet, thinking they fled, ſallied forth from his works to purſue them, after having diſpatched orders to lord Wenlock, to follow and ſuſtain him, if neceſſary. The duke of Glouceſter having thus drawn his antagoniſt into the open plain, cauſed his troops to halt, and inſtantly ranging them in their former order, led them back to the charge. The enemy, who had begun the purſuit in ſome diſorder, were ſtruck with conſternation and aſtoniſhment; and inſtead of ſtanding the aſſault, thought of nothing but ſaving themſelves within their intrenchments. The duke of Somerſet obſerving, that the lord Wenlock had not ſtirred from his ſtation to ſupport his line, was ſo enraged, that he rode up to him, and cleft his head with a battle-axe. The duke of Glouceſter, with his line, now entering the intrenchments,

ments, made a terrible ſlaughter, while the young prince of Wales ſeeing his whole army in confuſion, knew not which way to turn; mean while Somerſet, choaked with indignation, could ſcarcely ſpeak, and was incapable of taking the neceſſary ſteps for reducing his troops to order. In the mean time king Edward, following his brother with the ſecond line, completed the overthrow of the queen's army, which was ſoon routed, with a great ſlaughter; the ſecond and third lines flying without ſtriking one blow. The earl of Devonſhire and Sir John Beaufort were found among the dead; three thouſand of the queen's army were ſlain: but the duke of Somerſet, and about twenty other perſons of diſtinction, took ſhelter in the abbey-church of Tewkeſbury, where they were ſurrounded, dragged out, and immediately beheaded. This battle was fought on the fourth of May 1471.

The prince of Wales fell into the hands of his enemies; and being brought into Edward's preſence, that prince aſked him, how he dared to invade his dominions? The young prince with great fortitude replied, that he came thither to claim his juſt inheritance. Edward, exaſperated at this anſwer, inſtead of ſhewing the eſteem and reſpect due to a brave young enemy, ſtruck him on the face with his gauntlet, and retired; on which he was immediately murdered by the king's ſervants. Several authors ſay, that the dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter, and Sir Thomas Gray, taking the blow as a ſignal for farther violence, hurried

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the prince into the next apartment, and there ſlew him with their daggers *. His mother Margaret was found in a waggon in the field of battle, where ſhe lay more dead than alive; and being brought to London, was confined in the Tower, where ſhe continued about four years, till the king of France purchaſed her liberty. King Henry expired in the Tower a few days after the battle of Tewkeſbury. He had laboured for ſome time under an ill ſtate of health; but whether he died a natural or violent death is uncertain; and after his death, his body was expoſed to public view, to prevent unfavourable conjectures. The next day it was ſent to the abbey of Chertſey, where it was interred; but it was afterwards removed to Windſor, by order of Richard III. and there buried with great funeral ſolemnity.

As every legitimate prince of the houſe of Lancaſter was now dead, all the hopes of that family ſeemed to be extinguiſhed. The earl of Pembroke, who was raiſing forces in Wales, on hearing of the ill ſucceſs of the battle of Tewkeſbury, diſbanded his army, and fled with his nephew, the young earl of Richmond, into Britanny. The baſtard of Falconberg, who had, during Edward's abſence, levied ſome forces and advanced to London, was repulſed, deſerted by his men, taken priſoner, and immediately executed. Peace being now reſtored, a parliament was ſummoned, which, as uſual, ratified all the acts of the conqueror, and acknowledged his legal authority. Ed-

* This murder is imputed to Richard by no contemporary author. *Walpole.*

Edward, who had ſhewn ſuch intrepidity, firmneſs, and activity, in oppoſing his enemies, again devoted himſelf entirely to pleaſure and amuſements. Thus, by his gaiety, and by his eaſy familiar manners, he recovered the popularity, which it is natural to ſuppoſe he had in a great meaſure loſt, by the cruelty with which he had treated his enemies: while his example of jovial feſtivity abated the acrimony of faction, and reſtored the ſocial diſpoſition which had been ſo long interrupted. Thus the whole nation ſeemed perfectly ſatisfied with the preſent government.

At length the king was rouſed from this lethargy, by the proſpect of making foreign conqueſts. Though he thought himſelf little obliged to Charles, duke of Burgundy, for the reception that prince had given him during his exile, they maintained a cloſe connection, and agreed to unite their forces againſt France. A league was therefore concluded, in which the king agreed to invade that kingdom with an army of above ten thouſand men; and Charles promiſed to join him with all his forces. Edward was to lay claim to the crown of France, and to obtain at leaſt Normandy and Guienne, while the duke was to have Champaigne, with ſome other territories, and to poſſeſs all his dominions without doing homage to the crown of France: and neither of them was to agree to a peace without the other's conſent. Their hopes of ſucceſs were greatly increaſed, from their being ſecretly promiſed the aſſiſtance of the count of St. Pol,

conſtable of France, who was maſter both of St. Quintin, and other towns on the Somme; and they alſo flattered themſelves with prevailing on the duke of Britanny to join in the confederacy.

Upon this occaſion, the parliament voted the king two ſhillings in the pound on rents, which produced the ſum of 31,460 l. and alſo a ſupply of a whole fifteenth, and three quarters of another. Edward thinking thoſe ſums inſufficient, attempted to levy money by way of benevolence. It is remarkable, that by thoſe parliamentary grants, the money raiſed by the fifteenth was to be kept in religious houſes; and if the king laid aſide his expedition into France, it was to be immediately refunded to the people. The parliament, which had ſat near two years and a half, and been ſeveral times prorogued, was diſſolved after paſſing theſe grants.

Edward ſailed to Calais with an army of fifteen thouſand archers, and fifteen hundred men at arms, accompanied by the principal nobility of the kingdom, who, animated by their former ſucceſs in France, were filled with the hopes of doing wonders; but on their entering the French territories, all their hopes were damped, by finding, that the conſtable would not open his gates to them, nor the duke of Burgundy lend them the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance. That prince had employed his army againſt the duke of Lorrain, on the frontiers of Germany; and though he came to Edward and ſtrove to apologize for this violation of the

treaty,

treaty, there appeared no proſpect of his being able to join the Engliſh during that campaign: a circumſtance which, as it gave great diſguſt to the king, induced him to liſten to thoſe propoſals for an accommodation that were offered him by the French king.

Lewis thought no ſubmiſſions too mean, that tended to free him from enemies who had proved ſo formidable to his predeceſſors; and employed all his art to detach them from their alliance with the duke of Burgundy. On Edward's ſending him a herald to demand the crown of France, and to carry him a defiance, in caſe of his refuſal, he was ſo far from anſwering this bravado in the like haughty terms, that he replied with great temper, and made the herald a conſiderable preſent. Afterwards ſending a herald to the Engliſh camp, he gave him directions to apply to the lords Howard and Stanley, who, he heard, were friends to peace, deſiring their good offices in promoting an accommodation with their maſter. Edward being now of the ſame diſpoſition, a truce was concluded that was not very honourable to Lewis, who agreed to pay Edward immediately ſeventy-five thouſand crowns, on condition of his withdrawing his army from France; and to pay him, during their joint-lives, the ſum of fifty thouſand crowns a year. It was alſo added, that when the dauphin was of age, he ſhould marry Edward's daughter. The two monarchs agreed to have a perſonal interview, in order to ratify this treaty; and preparations were made for that purpoſe at Pecquigni, near

Amiens. Cloſe rails were fixed acroſs a bridge in that place, with no larger intervals than would admit the arm to paſs through. Edward and Lewis ſtood on the oppoſite ſides diſcourſing privately together; when having confirmed their friendſhip, many civilities paſſed between them, and they ſoon after retired.

The French king was not only deſirous of gaining Edward's friendſhip, but that of the Engliſh in general, and of all the conſiderable perſons in that court; and for that purpoſe, beſtowed ſixteen thouſand crowns a year in penſions on the king's favourites; particularly lord Haſtings was allowed two thouſand crowns, and lord Howard and others in proportion. As, after the concluſion of the truce, the two armies remained for ſome time in each other's neighbourhood, the Engliſh were not only freely admitted into Amiens, where Lewis then reſided, but had proviſions and wine furniſhed them gratis in every inn. Hence they flocked in ſuch multitudes thither, that at one time there were in the city above nine thouſand of them; who might eaſily have made themſelves maſters of Lewis's perſon, but he concluding, from their diſſolute manner of living, that they had no ill intentions, did not betray the leaſt ſign of jealouſy or fear; and therefore when Edward, on being informed of this diſorder, deſired him to ſhut the gates againſt them; he replied, That he would never exclude the Engliſh from the place of his reſidence; but that the king of England might recall them, if he pleaſed, and prevent

their

their returning, by placing his own officers at the gates of Amiens.

Lewis's eagerneſs to confirm a friendſhip with Edward, induced him to make ſome advances, which he was afterwards glad to evade. In the above conference at Pecquigni, he told him, that he hoped to ſee him at Paris, where he would endeavour to amuſe him with the ladies; and in caſe he committed any offences, he ſhould have the cardinal le Bourbon for a confeſſor, who, from fellow feeling, would not be over and above ſevere in the penances he would enjoin. This hint made a deeper impreſſion than Lewis deſired: for lord Howard, who went with him back to Amiens, told him in confidence, that if he approved of it, it would not be impoſſible to perſuade Edward to accompany him to Paris, where they might make merry together. At firſt Lewis pretended not to hear him; but on Howard's repeating what he had ſaid, he expreſſed his concern, that his war with the duke of Burgundy would not permit of his attending his royal gueſt, and of his doing him the honours he intended. Afterwards diſcourſing privately with Comines, he ſaid, "Edward is a very handſome and a "very amorous prince: ſome lady of Paris "may therefore like him as well as he ſhall "do her; and may invite him to return in "another manner. It is better that the ſea be "between us."

Thus Lewis, rather than hazard a battle, agreed to pay tribute to England; and as he made his preſent intereſt the ſole teſt of ho-

nour, perſuaded himſelf, that he had over-reached Edward, by getting rid of him on ſuch eaſy terms. Yet he was ſolicitous to conceal the ſatisfaction this gave him, and ſtrictly enjoined his courtiers never to treat the Engliſh with mockery or deriſion. But this rule he himſelf did not carefully obſerve; for one day, in the joy of his heart, rallying Edward and his council on their eaſy ſimplicity, he found, that he was over-heard by a Gaſcon, who had ſettled in England, when, being inſtantly ſenſible of his indiſcretion, he ſent to offer that gentleman ſuch advantages in his own country, as induced him to remain in France; ſaying, "It is but juſt that I pay for my "talkativeneſs."

That part of Lewis's treaty with Edward which did him moſt honour, was his ſtipulation for the liberty of queen Margaret, whom Edward had ſtill detained in cuſtody; tho', after the death of her huſband and ſon, ſhe was incapable of injuring him. Lewis paid fifty thouſand crowns for her ranſom; and that princeſs lived in tranquility and privacy till her death, which happened in the year 1482.

Edward offered to admit the duke of Burgundy to join in the treaty of Pecquigni; but when the propoſal was made to him, he haughtily anſwered, That he was able to ſupport himſelf, without the aſſiſtance of England, and would conclude no peace with Lewis till Edward had been three months in his own country. Though this prince was poſſeſſed of great courage and ambition, he was void of pru-

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dence and policy; hence he was unfortunate in all his enterprizes, and at laſt periſhed in an engagement with the Swiſs, whom he deſpiſed, and who, though brave and free, had not yet made any great figure. Charles left only one daughter by his firſt wife, and this princeſs, whoſe name was Mary, being heireſs to all his extenſive dominions, was courted by all the princes of Chriſtendom, who contended for the poſſeſſion of ſo rich a prize. Had Lewis made a proper application, he might have obtained her for the dauphin, and have thus united to the crown of France Burgundy, Artois, Picardy, and all the provinces of the Netherlands, which would inſtantly have rendered his kingdom an over-match for all his neighbours: but on this occaſion, he was carried from the road of true policy, by the paſſions of animoſity and revenge; and rather choſe to ſubdue the princeſs by force of arms, than to unite her to his family by marriage: he conquered the dutchy of Burgundy, and that part of Picardy which, by the treaty of Arras, had been ceded to Philip the Good; and thus forced the ſtates of the Netherlands to unite this princeſs in marriage with Maximilian of Auſtria, the ſon of the emperor Frederick, in order to procure them protection.

Edward was equally defective in policy. His jealouſy of his brother Clarence, who was now a widower, made him neglect the advances that were made for his marrying that prince to the heireſs of Burgundy; inſtead of which, he ſent her propoſals for eſpouſing Anthony,

thony, earl of Rivers, his queen's brother; but this was rejected with diſdain; and Edward being offended at this treatment of his brother-in-law, ſuffered France to proceed without interruption in conquering part of her dominions. Indeed he gladly ſeized any pretence for abandoning himſelf to indolence and pleaſure, his ruling paſſions. The ſole objects by which his attention was divided, were the improvement of the public revenue, and his rigorous proceedings againſt the duke of Clarence.

That prince, notwithſtanding his having deſerted Warwick, and greatly contributed, by that ſervice, to fix Edward firmly on the throne, was ſtill regarded at court as a man of a dangerous and fickle diſpoſition, while the imprudent openneſs and warmth of his temper, multiplied his enemies. Among theſe was the queen herſelf, and all her relations, who united againſt him. Theſe powerful adverſaries reſolved to begin by attacking his friends, in hopes that if he patiently ſuffered this, his puſillanimity would degrade him in the eyes of the public; and if he reſiſted, and expreſſed his reſentment, his paſſion would betray him into meaſures that might give them advantages over him. One day as the king was hunting in the park of Thomas Burdet, of Arrow, in Warwickſhire, who was the duke of Clarence's particular friend, he chanced to kill a white buck, which was ſuch a favourite of the owner, that, in the firſt tranſports of his paſſion, he wiſhed the horns of the deer in the belly of him that adviſed the king to kill it. This expreſſion

preſſion of reſentment, which, had it fallen from any other perſon, would probably have been overlooked, was rendered criminal, by his being the friend of Clarence. He was therefore accuſed of treaſon, condemned, and publickly beheaded at Tyburn, within the ſpace of two days. About the ſame time an eccleſiaſtic, named John Stacey, who was cloſely connected both with the duke and with Burdet, being more ſkilled in mathematics and aſtronomy than was uſual in that ignorant age, was ſuppoſed, by the vulgar, to be a conjurer; and the court laying hold of this popular opinion, in order to deſtroy him, he was brought to his trial for this imaginary crime, and condemned, put to the torture, and executed.

Clarence finding theſe acts of tyranny exerciſed on thoſe whom he eſteemed, was alarmed; but inſtead of ſecuring his own ſafety, by his ſilence and reſerve, loudly vindicated the innocence of his friends, and exclaimed againſt their proſecutors. The king, highly offended at his freedom, held a council, which entirely conſiſted of the duke of Clarence's enemies; and it was reſolved to accuſe him of high treaſon. He was therefore committed to the Tower, and the parliament being ſummoned, he was tried for his life before the houſe of peers, on the 16th of January 1478. Clarence was charged with arraigning public juſtice, by maintaining the innocence of perſons who had been ſentenced to ſuffer death by the courts of judicature; and of inveighing againſt the wickedneſs of the king, who had given orders for

for their proſecution. He was alſo charged with many raſh expreſſions, ſome of them reflecting on Edward's legitimacy, but was not accuſed of any overt-act of treaſon; and there is even room to doubt the truth of the ſpeeches alledged againſt him, ſince the court was deprived of liberty of judgment, by Edward's perſonally appearing as his brother's accuſer, and pleading the cauſe againſt him. The duke of Clarence was therefore pronounced guilty by the peers; and the commons, no leſs unjuſt and ſlaviſh, petitioned for his execution, and afterwards paſſed againſt him a bill of attainder.

The only favour which Edward would grant to his brother after his condemnation, was to allow him to chuſe what death he would ſuffer, and he was privately drowned in the Tower on the 18th of February in a butt of Malmeſy; a choice which probably proceeded from his extraordinary fondneſs for that liquor. The duke left two children by the earl of Warwick's daughter, a ſon created earl of Warwick, and a daughter, who was afterwards counteſs of Saliſbury, both of whom afterwards died a violent death.

After this event, Edward was extremely deſirous of having all his daughters ſettled by ſplendid marriages, though moſt of them were yet in their infancy. Elizabeth, his eldeſt daughter, was contracted to the dauphin; Cicely, his ſecond, to the eldeſt ſon of James III. king of Scotland; Anne, his third, to Philip, the eldeſt ſon of Maximilian and the dutcheſs

of

of Burgundy; and Catharine, his fourth, to John, the ſon and heir of Ferdinard, king of Arragon, and Iſabella, queen of Caſtile. Yet none of theſe took place, and the king ſaw the marriage of his eldeſt daughter with the dauphin, for which he was peculiarly ſolicitous, ſoon ſet aſide. Lewis, who paid little regard to his engagements, finding it for his advantage to contract the dauphin to the princeſs Margaret, the daughter of Maximilian, Edward, notwithſtanding the indolence into which he was ſunk, prepared to revenge this affront. The French king endeavoured to guard againſt the blow, and by bribing ſome of the principal perſons in the court of Scotland, incited James to invade England. This prince, who had diſobliged his nobility, and whoſe power was unequal to ſo great an enterprize, raiſed an army; but he was no ſooner ready to invade England, than the barons entering into a conſpiracy againſt his favourites, put them to death without the form of a trial, after which the army diſbanded. The duke of Glouceſter entered Scotland at the head of an army, attended by the duke of Albany, James's brother, who had been baniſhed his country, and ſought protection in England; and having taken Berwick, obliged the Scots to accept of a peace, and to reſign that fortreſs to Edward. The king, emboldened by this ſucceſs, reſolved to enter more ſeriouſly into a war with France; but while he was preparing for it, he was ſeized with a diſtemper, of which he died

on the 9th of April 1482, in the forty-ſecond year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign.

Edward, beſides his five daughters, left two ſons, Edward, prince of Wales, who was then in the thirteenth year of his age, and Richard, duke of York, who was in his ninth.

Edward, on his aſcending the throne, was eſteemed one of the handſomeſt men in England. His noble mien, his free and eaſy air and affability, joined to his intrepid courage, gained him the eſteem and affection of the people, and in many circumſtances of his life were of extreme ſervice to him. After being driven out of the kingdom, he is ſaid to have owed his reſtoration to the inclination entertained for him by the principal London ladies, notwithſtanding which he had the art of gaining the affections of their huſbands, and of the Engliſh in general. Had he not depended upon the hearts of his people, he could never have ventured to attempt the recovery of his crown with the help of only two thouſand men, who were chiefly foreigners. For ſome time he was extremely liberal, but at laſt became covetous, leſs from his natural temper, than from the neceſſity of ſupplying the immoderate expences attending the indulgence of his pleaſures. He had much wit and ſolid judgment, yet committed ſeveral great errors; one of the principal of which was his being privately married to the lady Eleanor Butler, the daughter of the earl of Shrewſbury, by the biſhop of Bath, which rendered his marriage with the widow Gray,

Gray, bigamy; and his afterwards being governed by the relations of the laſt mentioned lady, on whom he laviſhed wealth and honours. Inſtead of following that example of moderation and mildneſs ſet him by his father, he was guilty of cruelty, perjury, and incontinence. The firſt appears in the great number of princes and lords whom he cauſed to be put to a violent death; for, if ever there was room to exerciſe mercy in caſe of rebellion, it was at that fatal period, when it was almoſt impoſſible to ſtand neuter, and difficult to chuſe the juſteſt ſide between the two houſes that were contending for the crown. The death of the prince of Wales, the ſon of Henry VI. who was murdered almoſt in his preſence, and that of the duke of Clarence, are ſtains to his memory. He ſhewed his breach of faith by his unjuſt puniſhment of lord Welles and his brother-in-law, after drawing them out of ſanctuary by a ſafe conduct; and by his oath at York, taken with an intention of breaking it. As for his incontinency, he had many concubines; among whom were three, one of them, he ſaid, was the merrieſt, the other the wittieſt, and the third the holieſt in the world, ſhe being always in a church but when he ſent for her. He is, however, ſaid to have had but two natural children, both by Elizabeth Lucy; Arthur, ſurnamed Plantaganet, created viſcount l'Iſle by Henry VIII, and Elizabeth, who was married to Sir Thomas Lumley. His good fortune ſeems to be almoſt miraculous. He was raiſed to the throne after the loſs of two battles; the firſt by the duke

his father, and the other by the earl of Warwick, who was then devoted to the houſe of York; and was proclaimed king, while his father's head was ſtill upon the walls of York. After his eſcape from England, he returned, and was received into London, while his fortune depended on the ſucceſs of a battle with the earl of Warwick.

MISCELLANEOUS INCIDENTS.

In the fourth year of Edward IV. a pound weight of gold was ordered to make by tale twenty pounds ſixteen ſhillings and eight-pence; and a pound weight of ſilver, one pound ſeventeen ſhillings and ſix-pence. Afterwards it was ordered, that a pound weight of gold ſhould be divided into forty-five nobles, each of which ſhould paſs for ten ſhillings.

In this reign flouriſhed thoſe two great lawyers Thomas Littleton and John Forteſcue; the former was, in 1454, called to the degree of ſerjeant at law, and afterwards appointed ſteward of the marſhalſea of the king's houſhold; and, in 1466, was made one of the judges of the court of common-pleas. He wrote on the tenures, by which all eſtates were anciently held in England. Sir Edward Coke's books of inſtitutes is a comment on this work. This great lawyer died on the 23d of Auguſt, in the twenty-firſt year of the reign of Edward IV.

Sir John Forteſcue ſtudied the municipal laws of this kingdom in Lincoln's Inn, and in 1442 was made lord chief juſtice of the king's bench, in which poſt he continued till near the

end

end of the reign of king Henry VI. who ſhewed him many particular marks of favour, and advanced him to the poſt of lord high chancellor of England. During the reign of Edward IV. he followed the fortunes of the houſe of Lancaſter, and was ſeveral years in exile with queen Margaret and her ſon prince Edward. He afterwards returned with them to England, but, ſoon after the deciſive battle of Tewkeſbury was, with other Lancaſtrians, thrown into priſon and attainted; but found means to procure his pardon from Edward IV. He wrote in Latin a learned commentary on the politic laws of England, for the uſe of prince Edward; and another work on the difference between an abſolute and limited monarchy, as it more particularly regards the Engliſh conſtitution.

CHAP. VI.

EDWARD V.

Animoſities between the Queen and the Duke of Glouceſter. The latter is made Protector. He aſpires to the Crown, and obtains it by invalidating the Marriage of Edward with the Lady Elizabeth Gray.

A Very ingenious author has obſerved, "that there is a kind of literary ſuperſtition, which makes men look on any attempt towards ſhaking their belief in any eſtabliſhed characters, no matter whether good or bad, as a ſort of profanation; and that they are equally offended at any innovation, whether the perſon, whoſe character is to be raiſed, were patriot or tyrant, ſaint or ſinner." But the impartiality of an hiſtorian, who is fond of truth, will make him diſregard unmerited cenſure. Indeed, in the reigns immediately before us, he will have need of fortitude, in venturing to contradict any of the charges brought againſt Richard the Third, in order to gratify the malevolence of Henry VII. though there are no accounts of the greateſt crimes of which Richard is accuſed, but from Lancaſtrian hiſtorians, and though they are invalidated by authentic records lately brought to light.

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The nation had, during the latter years of Edward the Fourth's reign, in a great meaſure forgot the dreadful animoſities which had ſubſiſted between the houſes of York and Lancaſter; and having peaceably acquieſced in the eſtabliſhed government, were only agitated by ſome court intrigues, which aroſe from the perpetual rivalſhip between the queen, her relations, and the ancient nobility, who complained of the ſudden elevation and unbounded credit of that aſpiring family. The duke of Buckingham, who was at the head of the laſt mentioned party, was of a noble birth, great poſſeſſions, and diſtinguiſhed abilities; and notwithſtanding his having married the queen's ſiſter, was above acting in ſubſerviency to her inclinations. Lord Haſtings, the chamberlain, another leader of the ſame party, had, by his bravery and fidelity, acquired the king's confidence and favour, which enabled him, though not without ſome difficulty, to ſupport himſelf againſt the queen's influence. The lords Stanley and Howard, who were connected with theſe noblemen, added ſtrength and influence to the party. All the other barons, who had no dependence on the queen, adhered to the ſame intereſt, as did alſo the people in general.

Edward was ſenſible, that though he himſelf had found the means to over-awe thoſe rival factions, their conteſt might produce many diſorders during his ſon's minority; therefore, in his laſt illneſs, he took care to ſummon ſeveral of the leaders on both ſides, and endeavoured, by reconciling them, to provide for the future

tranquility of the government. After appointing his brother, the duke of Glouceſter, who was then abſent in the north, regent, during the minority of his ſon, he recommended to them the dangers that muſt attend their animoſities, and exhorting them to peace and unanimity, he prevailed on them to embrace each other with the appearance of the moſt cordial reconciliation. But their agreement laſted no longer than the life of the king, who had no ſooner expired, than their jealouſies broke out afreſh, and each party endeavoured to gain the favour and friendſhip of the duke of Glouceſter, who, both by his birth and the king's appointment, was intitled to hold the poſt of regent during the minority of his nephew.

On the death of Edward IV. the young prince, his eldeſt ſon, was proclaimed king by the name of Edward V. He then reſided in Ludlow caſtle, on the borders of Wales, to which he had been ſent, that the Welſh, being overawed by his preſence, the tranquility of the country, which had been diſturbed by ſome late commotions, might be reſtored. His perſon was entruſted to the care of the earl of Rivers, his uncle, who was one of the moſt accompliſhed noblemen in England, he having an uncommon taſte for literature, together with great abilities for buſineſs and bravery in the field. The queen, ſollicitous to preſerve that aſcendant over the young prince, which ſhe had conſtantly maintained over her huſband, reſolved to have him in her power, and to govern in his name. She therefore wrote to deſire

ſire her brother, the earl of Rivers, to levy a body of forces, in order to eſcorte the king to London, to guard him at his coronation, and to prevent his falling into the hands of her enemies. The oppoſite party, foreſeeing that theſe meaſures tended to deprive the duke of Glouceſter of the regency, and to perpetuate their ſubjection to their rivals, warmly oppoſed this reſolution, which they repreſented as a ſignal for renewing a civil war. The lord Haſtings threatened to ſet out immediately for his government of Calais, and the other nobles appeared reſolved to oppoſe force by force; but the duke of Glouceſter writing to the queen, repreſented, that the appearance of an armed power might be dangerous, and was not at all neceſſary; upon which ſhe revoked her orders to her brother, deſiring him to come with no greater retinue, than was neceſſary to ſupport the young king's ſtate and dignity.

In the mean time, the duke of Glouceſter ſet out from York with a numerous train of the northern nobility. On his reaching Northampton, he was joined by the duke of Buckingham, who had alſo a ſplendid retinue, and hearing that the king was every hour expected to arrive there, he determined to wait for him, and conduct him from thence to London. The earl of Rivers, apprehending that the town was too ſmall to accommodate ſo many people, ſent the king forward by another road to Stony Stratford, and came himſelf to Northampton to apologize for this meaſure, and to pay his reſpects to the duke of Glouceſter. He was received

ceived with the greateſt appearance of cordiality, and ſpent the evening in an amicable manner with Glouceſter and Buckingham; but at the time of reſt, the gates of the inn were ſuddenly locked, and the earl made priſoner. Early in the morning, the two dukes proceeded to Stony Stratford, where, in the king's preſence, they picked a quarrel with his other half brother, the lord Richard Gray, accuſing him, the marquis of Dorſet, and the earl of Rivers, of ambitious and hoſtile deſigns, to which ends the marquis had entered the Tower, taken treaſure thence, and ſent a force to ſea. Theſe nobles, together with Sir Thomas Vaughan, who poſſeſſed a conſiderable poſt in the houſhold, and Sir Thomas Hawte, were at the ſame time put under a guard, and conducted to Pontefract. Glouceſter approached the young king with all the marks of reſpect, and ſtrove to ſatisfy him with regard to the violence committed on his uncle and brothers; but Edward being fond of thoſe near relations, by whom he had been tenderly educated, was unable to conceal his concern.

The people, however, rejoiced at this revolution, which placed the king in the hands of the duke of Glouceſter, and the ancient nobility; and the duke was received in London with the loudeſt acclamations: but the queen was no ſooner informed of the impriſonment of her brother and ſon, than apprehending that her own ruin was determined, ſhe fled into the ſanctuary of Weſtminſter, attended by the

the marquis of Dorſet, taking with her the duke of York and the five princeſſes. Glouceſter, ſolicitous to have the duke of York in his power, propoſed to take him from the ſanctuary by force; and repreſented to the privy council, the indignity offered to the government, by the queen's ill grounded apprehenſions, and the neceſſity of the young prince's attending at his brother's coronation. It was obſerved, that the original intention of eccleſiaſtical privileges was only to afford protection to unhappy men, proſecuted for their debts or crimes, and were not of the leaſt uſe to a perſon who, on account of his tender age, could lie under the burthen of neither, and was thence incapable of claiming ſecurity from any ſanctuary. But cardinal Bourchier, the primate, and Rotherham, archbiſhop of York, proteſted againſt this meaſure, as being ſacrilegious; whence it was agreed, that thoſe prelates ſhould firſt endeavour to perſuade the queen to comply, before any violent meaſures were taken. Theſe prelates being perſons of integrity and honour, and perfectly convinced of the duke's good intentions, employed every argument, and made uſe of their entreaties, exhortations, and aſſurances of the duke's ſafety. She, however, continued long obſtinate, inſiſting, that the duke of York not only lived in ſecurity by reſiding in the ſanctuary, but gave ſecurity to the king, who was in no danger while his ſucceſſor remained in a place of ſafety. But perceiving that none ſupported her

her arguments, and that the council threatened, in caſe of refuſal, to make uſe of force, ſhe at laſt produced her ſon to the two prelates; and embracing him with tears, delivered him to them with many expreſſions of reluctance.

As the duke of Glouceſter was the neareſt male of the royal family, capable of exerciſing the government, he was entitled, by the cuſtoms of the realm, to enjoy the office of protector; and the council, without waiting for the conſent of parliament, made no ſcruple of inveſting him with that high dignity. This precipitation was occaſioned by the general prejudice, which the nobility had entertained againſt the queen and her relations, beſides the numerous iſſue of Edward, with the two children of Clarence, ſeemed inſuperable obſtacles to his ambition. He now ordered the earl of Rivers, lord Richard Gray, Vaughan and Haute, who were detained at Pontefract, to be executed; and the lord Haſtings was beheaded the ſame day at the Tower. Wicked and illegal as theſe executions were, they were conſonant to the manners and violence of the age. The lords Stanley, the archbiſhop of York, the biſhop of Ely, and others of the council, were committed priſoners in different chambers of the Tower.

The protector then, by proclamation, taxed Jane Shore with plotting treaſon with the marquis of Dorſet, the queen's ſon, and ſummoned her to anſwer before the council for ſorcery and

and witchcraft; but no proof appearing againſt her, ſhe was tried in the ſpiritual court for adultery, and did public pennace at St. Paul's in a white ſheet, with a wax taper in her hand. This lady was born at London, had a good education, and was married to a ſubſtantial citizen; but in this match, views of intereſt had unhappily been more conſulted than her inclinations; and though her mind appeared formed for virtue, ſhe wanted the ſteadineſs and reſolution neceſſary to enable her to reſiſt the allurements of Edward, who had ſolicited her favours. But though this gay and amorous monarch ſeduced her from her duty, ſhe rendered herſelf reſpectable by her other virtues; and employed the aſcendant, which her charms and vivacity long maintained over him, in acts of humanity and beneficence. The king was as much in love with her temper as her beauty. He never heard her ſpeak ill of any one; but ſhe was forward to oppoſe calummy, to protect the oppreſſed, and to relieve the indigent: her good offices were the genuine dictates of her heart, and ſhe ſcorned to take a reward, being unwilling to have it thought that ſhe acted from a motive of intereſt. Hence ſhe amaſſed but a ſmall degree of wealth, of which ſhe was now plundered. Mrs. Shore lived to experience, in old age and poverty, the ingratitude of thoſe courtiers who had ſolicited her friendſhip, and been protected by her credit; and none among the multitudes, whom ſhe had obliged, had the gratitude

tude or humanity to relieve her. Hence she languished out her life in solitude and indigence; and living to a great age, begged of those, says Sir Thomas More, that might then have begged, had it not been for her. Thus in a court inured to the greatest crimes, her frailties justified the violation of friendship, and the basest ingratitude.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.